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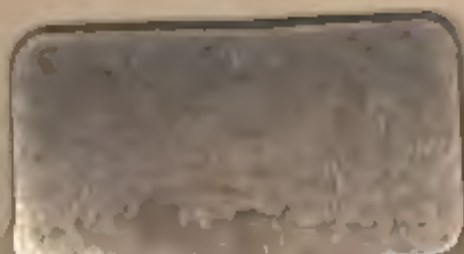
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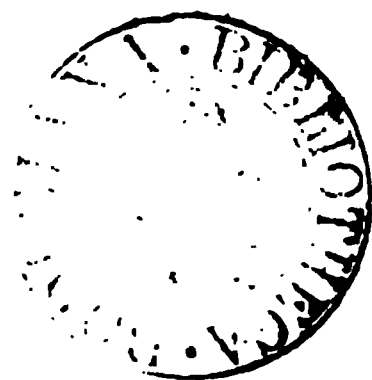
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SA. 1830

HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE LATE
CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND



BY THOMAS WYSE, Esq. JUN.

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

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their measures. To these, too, in the minds at least of the ministers, might have been super-added, the very important inducement of suppressing, in the enactment which was to suppress the Catholic Association, other associations of a far less constitutional character, and of a tendency to every true interest of society, infinitely more perilous. One portion of this intention has been amply fulfilled; the Association, which was ostensibly in view, has outrun, in its anxiety for pacification, even the government itself, and dissolved, by its own voluntary declaration, long before the hand of the legislature could possibly have reached it. Whether the government will now, with a wise impartiality, bring its power to bear on the only bodies on whom it can at present bear, the Brunswick Clubs of Ireland, or will limit its exertions to a task which scarcely required so great an outlay of legislation, will soon, it is to be hoped, no longer be a matter of mere conjecture. If the measure which has been proposed possess any real magic, it lies only in its perfect justice. A suspicion in the mind of a confiding and generous population at such a moment, would prove fatal. One camp

more obvious actions only, of the body were conspicuous. An election of Waterford or of Clare alone, evinced to the English people the existence of such a power ; but they were for the greater part as ignorant of the principle and process of the movement, as the spectator who gazes on a steam-vessel from shore without inquiring into the properties or power of steam. It was only when the effect of these powerful impulses began to be felt by the entire community, that every class at last awoke to their causes, and commenced comparing them with their effects. But as usual in such abrupt investigations, men judged only after preconceived opinions. They squared every thing to their own creed.

The Association was supposed to be a mere tumultuary body, starting up from a chaos of confused and ungovernable elements, the creature of excitation, and with views as inconsistent with *general* constitutional liberty, and especially with the order and security of the *British* constitution, as any of those sudden assemblages of Catholics and Covenanters, which were flung together at the outset of the civil wars in either country, by the first fury of our religious dissen-

the entire form and pressure of the popular mind.

Of the power of this singular anomaly, surviving penal enactment, and flourishing in the midst of civil restriction, it is at present unnecessary to speak: the chain which bound its strength together, the magic life by which it lived, has passed away at the voice of a still more powerful enchantment—the confident expectation of immediate and entire justice. But it may not be without its interest and utility to trace the progress of its formation, and to show, by what sure though tardy progress, the omnipotence of public opinion is ultimately, though gradually, brought to bear upon the most unmanageable questions of public policy, and in its good time to work those mighty moral changes in the national mind, which to the unphilosophic observer appear little less than miraculous.

The Irish Catholic may look back with a just pride on the honourable efforts which have so well deserved their actual remuneration, and the English constitutional Protestant read with instruction and satisfaction a lesson, that will not cease with the moment, but guide *him* also in

the future struggles he may have to make for the restitution or improvement of national rights. In such a contest nothing is small; nothing is to be despised. Catholic emancipation, it will be seen, has not been achieved by a *coup de main*; liberty has not come to the Catholic by accident; nor is it, as has been falsely surmised, the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds have, year after year, been plentifully sown in the mind of a whole people, until the appointed moment for the sure and abundant harvest had fully arrived. The moral force of patient and unceasing effort in a just cause, confiding fully in the God of justice and its own might, has been adequately proved: the certainty of final triumph, when truth and reason are the combatants, is placed beyond a doubt: and if this great lesson, and no other, had been taught by the late struggle, it would have been well worth all the sacrifice and delay. Every day, the chance of regenerating a nation by the coarse expedients of physical force is, thank God! becoming less and less. There is every day a greater confidence in the power and efficacy of mere mind; there is every day a more firm assurance in the strength

and sufficiency of unassisted reason. France and England are now the great scenes for the fullest development of this important problem. From these two countries must flow henceforth the political education of Europe. France, with greater advantages, has, within the last few years at least, made a more rapid stride in this first of human sciences; but England has not forgotten her old renown. A nobler alliance than mere state-expediency can ever hope for, a prouder rivalry than the mere emulation of arms can ever boast of, is at length springing up between us! To confer the greatest share of human blessing on the governed by means the most general, the most simple, and the most permanent, is surely a glorious art. An Englishman should not now have to learn it; he ought to be the first to teach it to all mankind. The suppression of restrictions on personal liberty, on the liberty of the press, the amelioration of the elective code, new guarantees for the rights of publicity and opinion, a more popular municipal organization, are portions of the same system in France, of which the approaching emancipation of the Catholics is a still greater portion in Eng-

mer name of Committee. IV. The continuation of the same body in 1813, under the name of Board: And V., and finally, the period of its restoration, under its old designation, in 1823. * Each of these periods presents very different political phenomena; they are in curious analogy with the character of the actors, and the advancement and improvement in the spirit of the times.

* The *Letter of Mr. O'Connor to Dr. Curry*, 28th July, 1756 :—" I am heartily sorry your citizens of Dublin did not invite all parties into their *Association*;"—and again, " Some thought that an *association* might be formed on our side." This was afterwards changed to Committee, Board, &c.; but the body finally reverted, in 1823, to the original name of the "*Association*."

sure to the capitulating party, a sure and immediate retreat from an inexorable and victorious enemy. The nerve and muscle of the Catholic community departed with the surrender of that city. The emigration was by thousands: an army of brave men quitted Ireland, and left to the new masters a nation of unprotected slaves. Catholic property had been long on the wane; successive sacrifices, successive confiscations, had clipped it down to a mere relic of what it once was; and though the transfer had been far more peremptory and violent in the North, the South was by no means unvisited by the same sweeping spirit of plunder and confiscation. The treaty of Limerick confirmed property as it then stood, and was not less the charter of the Protestant than the Catholic. The whole value of a text depends however on the interpreter; and the Catholic in this instance was called in to listen and to obey; the Protestant held the rod and condescended to expound.*

* That flagrant insult to public justice and national faith, the bill misnamed "A Bill for the confirmation of the articles of Limerick," in which some of the most important clauses relative to the settlement of Catholic property were omitted, has scarcely been paralleled even in the history of Ireland. Read the *original* bill, and then the *Protest*, particularly 1, 2, and 3, *reasons*. It is some consolation to find that it was signed by four bishops.

of the sovereign were, in execution, converted into curses, or intercepted by the personal and party policy, the blighting atmosphere of Irish Protestantism, through which they had to pass. The most absolute sway of an individual tyrant would have been preferable to the multiplied tyranny of the Irish parliaments.* Powerful

the personal administration of the sovereign. The security he granted to religious dissenters of all denominations, restored industry and plenty in all things; useful arts were introduced; the land was cultivated; and a fine island, reduced to a desert by a late war, soon assumed a new face.—(*Observations, &c. by Lord Taaffe.*) The Catholics participated largely in these advantages: 233,106 acres were restored of the confiscated estates; 74,722 outlawries were reversed: they engaged extensively in the import and export trade to the continent, particularly in the linen, yarn, and frieze trade: and so great were the profits and so flourishing the condition of the merchants, that apprehensions were entertained that the estates of Protestants, by mortgage and otherwise, would soon revert to the hands of the Catholics.—(*Discourse on Ireland, in Answer to the Eton and Barnstaple Petitions*, pp. 54. 57, 58.) Lands rose by the influx of capital; the peasantry acquired valuable interests; a sturdy yeomanry appeared; the very cottier was less miserable. All this, a few years after, was bartered for a shadow. The Irish Protestant sold Ireland for the maintenance of his monopoly; and the English Protestant trampled on the Catholic in order to maintain his national supremacy.

* *The Discourse on Ireland, in Answer to the Eton and Barnstaple Petitions*, suggests, as one of the best means for retaining the Catholics in their actual wretchedness, the

and like the freed blacks of Jamaica, were the worst taskmasters of the caste from which they

An act for *liberty of conscience*, and repealing such acts and clauses in any acts of parliament which are inconsistent with the same.

An act for the encouragement of strangers and others to inhabit and plant in this kingdom of Ireland.

An act for vesting in his Majesty the goods of *absentees*.

An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh wools into this kingdom.

An act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation, &c. &c.

pists, containing a clause rendering their spoliation, robbery, &c. legal.—7 *Will.* c. 5.

An act for banishing archbishops, priests, &c. for the purpose of extinguishing the Catholic religion.—9 *Will.* c. 1.

An act for discouraging marriages between Catholic and Protestant.—9 *Will.* c. 5.

An act confirming (i. e. violating) the Articles of Limerick.—9 *Will.* c. 11.

The Acts for discouraging the woollen trade of Ireland, which afforded subsistence to 12,000 Protestant families in the metropolis, and 30,000 dispersed in other parts of the kingdom, passed in the English parliaments (1 *Will. and Mary*, c. 32; 4 *Will. and Mary*, c. 24; 7 and 8 *Will.*, c. 28; 9 and 10 *Will.*, c. 40), and recognised afterwards by the Irish parliament in the Bill passed 25th March, 1699.

An act completing the

turn which they received for so many and such enormous concessions of the common rights, was a larger privilege to persecute and oppress the very portion of the community from which they chiefly derived their strength and power.

The reign of William, though it had considerably curtailed the property and influence of the higher orders of the Catholics, had still left in their hands those elements by which in the ordinary course of things they might ultimately be enabled to resume both. The colony still trembled in the midst of the surrounding nation. It was not sufficient to scotch the snake, it was abso-

bye, in reference to Ireland never existed, read William's peremptory answer to the address of his English Commons on the woollen trade of Ireland, and the disgraceful and servile reply of his Irish Commons to the same. William said, "that he would do all in his power to promote the trade of *England*, and to discourage the woollen, and encourage the linen trade in *Ireland*." The Irish Commons answer, that "the woollen manufacture being the settled staple trade of *England*, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged *here* for the purpose" (*Com. Journal*, v. i. p. 997); yet this very woollen manufacture was exclusively Protestant. But the sacrifice was demanded by England, and instantly granted by Ireland: for the vile surrender the Irish Protestant got a wretched equivalent;—the anti-national No Popery code. All this may have been desirable to the slaves and tyrants of the day; but let not their descendants talk of Protestantism and Ireland.

fathers. This extirpation law, for such appears to have been its object, allowed only the existence of such a number of Catholic serfs as might be sufficient for the mere purposes of tilling the soil for the use of their Protestant taskmaster. The English Tories added clauses affecting the Presbyterians; but the Irish Protestant Whig, rather than surrender his rights of torture, consented to the base sacrifice. The Sacramental Test was introduced, and half the North disfranchised; Catholic and Dissenter suffered;* and a handful of monopolists sate down on the ruins of their common country.

It was this “good law,” “this excellent law,” for which the nation was so much indebted, “to her Majesty’s unparalleled goodness, and his Grace’s sincere and happy endeavours,” † which roused for the second time any thing like a feeble attempt on the part of the oppressed Catholics, to stand between their country and destruction. ‡ A few gentlemen stood forth in the

* 80,000 Scotch families had settled in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne. They were the principal linen manufacturers and exporters.—*Discourse on Ireland*, p. 33—39.

† 1 Anne, c. 23. Commons’ Journals, v. iii. p. 201.

‡ A similar effort, and with as little advantage, had been made by Robert Cusack, Francis Segrave, Esqrs., and Captain Morris Eustace, in a petition on behalf of them-

To the commercial jealousy then of England, and to the base desertion, for the purpose of personal revenge of the Protestant party in Ireland, of all the grand interests of their common country, may be traced the first seeds of that desolating code, which produced a larger and more permanent share of injury to the country, than all the ravage of the wars of 1641, or the recent struggle between James and William. Pasturage gradually superseded agriculture,* the population lost its proportion to the resources of the soil: manufactures had perished, and there was no reservoir to receive the surplus of the people: idleness produced famine, and famine insurrection, and insurrection extermination; and thus, through a series of the same vicious follies and criminal experiments, the country gradually retrograded, and at last sunk. Ireland fell from her station in Europe, and Protestantism and monopoly alone flourished.

The subsequent period of the reign of Queen Anne, under the profligate viceroyalty of the Earl of Wharton, &c. was principally filled up in adding new links to the all-embracing penal chain, and moulding into a still more atrocious

* Land immediately fell, after this bill “for preventing the growth of Popery,” 10 per cent. The present Emancipation Bill, it is to be hoped, will work a contrary miracle.

fession of informers was declared "an honourable service" by a resolution of the House of Commons; blood-money for the capture of priests was unsparingly lavished; the whole country was debauched and demoralised by the very bodies to whom chiefly was entrusted the guardianship of public morality. It was in vain that Sir Stephen Rice, in support of the petition of Lord Kingsland, again attempted to interpose his powerful eloquence between his Catholic countrymen and these atrocious enactments. But the last consummation was now perfected. The land was reduced to a waste, yet fear and discord still reigned; solitude was every where, but peace was not yet established. Emigrations became numerous and frequent; all who could fly, fled. They left behind a government in prey to every vice, and a country the victim of every wrong. The facility of acquiring property by the violation of the natural duties of social life, was too powerful a temptation: dishonesty, treachery, and extravagance prevailed. The rewards of conformity cast at large the seeds of mutual distrust in the hearts of child and of parent. Hypocrisy and dissimulation were applauded and recompensed by the laws themselves. A nursery for young tyrants was formed in the very bosom of the legislature;

dered still more permanent and unrelenting the twofold policy of his predecessor. Hatred to Popery—hatred to Ireland—the first confounded with slavery, the second with every thing hostile to the supremacy of England, were the guiding maxims of his cabinet and parliament. The one worked for the other; and the English monarch, forgetting he was also king of Ireland, played kingdom against kingdom, and party against party, reigning over factions, and rejoicing over victories, each of which, by a wise and just monarch, ought to have been lamented as a national defeat.

All the former tyrannies were now found consolidated into one. The records of this reign present the same indefatigable persecution of the Catholic clergy, the same injuries and insults heaped without measure on the ancient aristocracy of the country, the same anxiety to furnish new additions to the exterminating code, the same legalised violations of the rights of the subject, the same usurpations of Irish rights, which so disgracefully characterise the administration and parliaments of the preceding. But under George the First, what was originally experiment became system; and the machinery, wherever it was found defective, by the perverse vigilance of the legis-

it almost entirely *English*. His victory paved the way for another far easier and far more important. Popery fell, but Ireland fell with it. From this day until 1782 Ireland was a mere grovelling colony, regulated by the avarice or fears of a stranger.*

The panic of 1715, the subsequent contest on Wood's patent, the extreme wretchedness, verging to absolute famine in 1725, and the succeeding years, tended only to render still more intolerable the position of the Catholics. George II. ascended the throne, and the Catholics for a moment indulged the hope of a relaxation. But their very congratulations were contemptuously consigned to oblivion:† they

* Primate Boulter, the English manager for twenty years, gives very ample details of this system. (*Correspondence passim*.) It is true, indeed, that the open avowal and determined assertion of English supremacy in this reign, connected with other transitory circumstances of the times, such as Wood's halfpence and Swift's Letters, roused a sort of galvanic effort in this dead mass, and evinced an inclination to resist the successful encroachment of the ruling power. But the man had to deal with a child. England had only to menace the ghost of Popery, and the resistance, as of old, instantly subsided. So much for the courage and patriotism of these church and state defenders!

† Lord Delvin and others waited on the Lord Lieutenant with an address, and begged it should be transmitted to His Majesty. It was not even noticed.

irreclaimable. The desolating famine of 1740, one of the most terrible in the memory of man, carrying off 400,000 persons, the fifth or sixth within twenty years, was another blessing of this exclusive legislation. Drains to absentees, the old restrictions on the woollen trade, embargoes on provisions, total want of specie, enhanced the distress; nor was the persecution of man corrected by the awful visitations of Providence. The first symptoms of returning plenty were only stimulants to new excess. The proclamation for the suppression of monastic institutions in 1744 was the sequel. A general disarming of the Catholics took place; the sanctity of domestic retreat was violated in search of priests; chapels were closed; public service and private devotion were suspended; terror reigned on all sides; and a persecution unequalled by any of the preceding spread to the most remote parts of the kingdom. The Scotch rebellion of 1745 still further increased the alarm and cruelty of the ascendancy: trampled as the Catholic was to the very earth, shorn of every element of power, deprived of even the hope or the yearning after self-redress, the natural apprehensions arising out of a guilty conscience, attributed to him intentions which were never verified by deeds, and saw, in the just sense of the

32 TOTAL DEPRESSION OF THE CATHOLICS.

come emphatically the Helot. The Protestant ascendancy had no rival ; and its vigour and powers seemed assured to it for ever. In one hand it held strength, and in the other length of days. But the seeds of death were in its heart. Injustice is not destined to be eternal.

tibus addita ludibria"—every insult and contumely was added to sharpen the lagging and blunted vengeance of the law. It was on one of these occasions, on the 23rd of October, 1746, that a young girl, passing from one of these sermons through the Castle-yard of Dublin, lifted up her hands in astonishment and horror, and exclaimed, "And are there any of these bloody Papists now in Dublin?" The incident excited the laughter of the bystanders; but there was one in the crowd upon whose ear it fell with a far different meaning. Dr. Curry was standing near. The sermon was purchased and read: it overflowed with invective, and with slanders. Catholicity was misrepresented with every additional circumstance of malignity, which existing prejudice and historical falsehood could combine. From that day forth he dedicated the whole weight and energies of his mind to an immortal cause. He had yet no other combatant by his side, nor the hopes of a combatant to sustain him; he stood alone in the field, and bore upon his single shield the entire burden of the conflict.

Dr. Curry in any period of Irish history would have been a remarkable man. In the present, he borrowed additional distinction from the difficulties with which he was surrounded. De-

adding by its polemical virulence a new stimulant to the mental malady of the day, but in dissipating the blindness of prejudice, in subduing the inflammation, in staying the paroxysm, of passion and persecution. No writer had a more difficult task to perform than the writer of the "Review of the Civil Wars"—"*plenum opus aleæ*." He trod, indeed, as he advanced upon a scarcely subsiding volcano, and met under surfaces the most flattering, treacherous gusts of flame and smoke at almost every step. He had to investigate truth obscured by a cloud of parliamentary journals; he had to pursue it through voluminous and *ex-parte* records; he had to rescue it from the virulence and vindicate it from the folly of the day. He has walked in the midst of this darkness, and trodden on this danger in general with a calm and unfaltering step; and if at times complaint escapes from his lips in beholding the desolation around him, it is more in the mildness and sorrow of half-suppressed expostulation that he speaks, than in the bitterness and anger of open denunciation.* To his country true, a disinterested

* In a late history, to which the praise of general impartiality has been so well awarded, the "Review of the Civil Wars" has been treated with more than usual severity. Dr. Curry merited any other than the indiscriminate cen-

tellect and character of the country, means of all others the most judiciously adapted to teach and marshal it the mighty way it was so soon destined to go.

With Dr. Curry was immediately associated * another man, not inferior to him in any of the moral and intellectual endowments which could qualify for the prosecution of a great

* Doctor Curry's character is well described in a letter from his friend Mr. O'Connor to Dr. Carpenter, dated from the Hermitage, Nov. 5, 1773. It breathes the strongest sentiments of attachment, and thus continues: "His heart, his studies were devoted to the good of the Catholic cause: he, in his writings and conversation planned out the conduct which Catholics ought to pursue under a lenient government, which permits their existence in the land, when the laws forbid it. He brought the wisest amongst us into his sentiments: he did more; he brought them to co-operate with him; and you may remember that to *his* solicitations were owing my poor efforts in the cause he undertook; and, indeed, undertook *alone* for some time. He overlooked the censure of some, who reproached him for officiousness in undertaking that course, uncalled and uncommissioned. With the testimony of a good conscience on his side, he went on, and opposed zeal to timidity. The consequences have surely proved that he was right. His works were well received. They have been even applauded by the most moderate of his adversaries." See also numerous other letters in the same tone, particularly those dated Feb. 9th, 1773, from the same place; 24th June, 1761, &c.

domains by the act of settlement; was a major in the service of James at the Revolution; and ultimately died a prisoner in the castle of Chester. His estate, on the point of being forfeited by the iniquitous character of rebellion attributed to this contest, after a great deal of difficulty, was finally restored by the commissioners of claims.

But, as in most other cases of Catholic property, the scar of wrong and confiscation still remained behind. Eight or nine hundred acres of bad land was all that had been rescued from the wreck. It was encumbered with innumerable chancery claims, arising from a variety of claimants during its alienation from the family, and was ultimately borne down by dilapidation and debt. "Mr. O'Connor's birth," says his historian, "in an obscure cottage at Kilmacatraney in the county of Sligo, is the best indication how much the fortunes of his house had fallen at the commencement of the eighteenth century."

Dr. Curry had very considerable academical advantages over Mr. O'Connor: the latter was indebted for the first elements of his education to the scanty and piecemeal instruction of a few itinerant friars, who received shelter by the fire-side of his hospitable father. But he had been gifted with a naturally felicitous organization,

all unworthy motive, the valuable gifts which he had received. His entire correspondence breathes of the public only—self is almost forgotten. The gold was not alloyed by the base dross; there was no intrigue, there was no vanity. His modesty was equal to his merit: “A man of more unassuming manners,” says his historian, “of greater simplicity of manners, or gentler deportment, never existed. He cherished religion as the best gift of Heaven, and benevolence and truth amongst the first moral virtues; he pursued industry and practised economy, as the parents of hospitality and generosity. Though his income was at all times scanty and limited, though embarrassed by the mercantile disappointments of a beloved son, and the expenses of a bill of discovery filed against himself, his purse was never closed against the demands of public service, or the calls of individual distress: his benign disposition and native dignity, the *ingenita nobilitas* of Tacitus, beamed in the expressive sweetness and placid serenity of his countenance. His patriarchal appearance in his more advanced years, attracted the notice and commanded the respect and veneration of all who beheld him. The allusion of Goldsmith to the country clergyman was verified in his person: the children followed him ‘to pluck his

the improvement of his estates. Manufactories, for which he obtained with difficulty, even the connivance of government, were attempted to be introduced. His speculative and ardent spirit, impatient of repose, miscalculated the times in which he lived, and the men with whom he had to deal. The anti-Popery spirit came between the country and every improvement ; every exertion for the advancement of its civilization, in which a Papist could be concerned, failed. Galled and disappointed, in a moment of despondency and disgust, a correspondence, at first casual, afterwards frequent and sustained, with Mr. O'Connor, opened to him new and ampler views. He seized them with avidity ; he saw there were still hopes for Ireland ; he girt himself up to give every assistance to the sacred cause which an oppressed man had still in his power. But, far more impetuous than his associates, he disdained to conciliate : he roused, he enkindled, but was little fitted or little inclined to calm. His habits were not literary, but active ; little content with obliterating Protestant prejudice, he thought a more important task still remained behind—the compressing into shape and system the scattered energies of his Catholic countrymen. To that purpose, with the firmness of a will not easily to be swayed from its object,

mitted the future destinies of their country ; but a long period elapsed before they could fully embody their resolutions into practice. A series of fortunate events at last favoured their exertions, and brought them into efficient and useful action. The anniversary sermons of Christ-Church had first excited the dormant intelligence of Dr. Curry ; a similar circumstance produced a nearly corresponding effect on Mr. O'Connor. The "Appeal" of Sir Richard Cox, who charged Lucas with being a Papist because he was a patriot,* roused in the mind of

* It is a curious thing to compare the same spirit under different circumstances. This irreclaimable faction was at all times the same ; a consistent villifier of every exertion for the freedom or regeneration of Ireland. Dr. Lucas, aware probably of the ignorance and fanaticism of his times, so far from allowing any predilection for Popery to appear in his pages, courted a disgraceful popularity in his *Barber's Letters* (p. 16. *Dublin*, 1747), by the most wanton vituperation of a fallen people. But it was sufficient that he had raised his voice against the encroachments of England, and the flagrant corruption and misrule of her Irish proconsuls, to represent his *popular* opinions, with the usual perverse spirit of the party, as subservient "to the slavish doctrines of Popery, and intended only as an insidious plan for the introduction of the Pretender." Similar weapons (and let this be a consolation to the calumniated patriots of the present day) were wielded against Mollyneux's *Case of Ireland*, a noble vindication of Irish independence ; against

by his defeat in Scotland, and still more effectually by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The subsequent contest in 1753, between Primate Stone and Lord Shannon, relative to the surplus then in the treasury, notwithstanding the exertions of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chesterfield, to divert the public mind from the struggle to its more congenial habits of persecution, produced considerable improvement in opinion, and for the first time rekindled, by the passion which it excited for public discussion, some recollection of the name of country. The rejection of the Earl of Limerick's celebrated bill for the registry of priests, pursuant to 2nd of Anne, by a majority of two, in consequence, singular to say, of the strong opposition of the bishops, was another triumph, and, under the circumstances, was considered as no questionable pledge of the increasing liberality of the church and of the government.* It was in this interval of doubtful repose that Mr. O'Connor and Dr. Curry first conceived the hope of rousing into some sense of their debased condition, their apathetic

* The bill, however, the very next year, 1757, through the exertions of the same Lord Limerick (then Lord Clanbrasil), passed both houses. It was fortunately quashed (no unusual measure in this violent government) by the authority of the privy council.

tion of a long series of legislative severities had crumbled away, fragment by fragment the miserable pittance which civil war or domestic rapacity had spared; the constant habit of shrinking from public notice, the prudence requisite to walk amongst the snares, with which they were encircled, and the stern and calamitous lessons taught by a long-continued experience, had concurred with the actual grievance, in altogether congealing every sentiment of political energy or enthusiasm. Nor is the more distant or philosophic spectator altogether entitled to censure this conduct. It would be railing against the inscrutable laws of our moral being; it would be blaspheming against human nature itself!

The contempt, with which their very felicitations had been received, and the apprehension which they entertained of exciting the attention of either the administration, or the legislature, at all times synonymous with renewed persecution, might almost serve to justify such feelings. They had some reason to dread that the very clanking of their chains might arouse their keeper from his slumber, and tend only to furnish him with a new pretext to rivet them more closely. Nor were they unaffected by a larger portion than usual of the ordinary defects of their order. They

ever trifling, he was tauntingly reminded of an inferiority, which he could never recognise in his own heart, and against which even the tamest spirit revolted with a stifled but burning indignation. His duties were rendered almost impossible: he was told to love his country, and he was deprived of all that makes a country to man: he was told to love his king, and his king never appeared to him, but through the medium of vindictive and corrupt ministers, calling for the sacrifice of the rights and happiness of his subjects, and feeding and revelling on their miseries and pains. He saw in every human being around him either an enemy, or a fellow-sufferer: he found the bondsman accompanying him into the inmost recesses of private life; home was made false and insecure: he knew not scarcely whether he nourished serpents, or children: he was not certain whether the wife who lay in his bosom and shared his cup to-night, might not be the first to point the discoverer to his hearth in the morning: he knew that these things had been done; and above all, he knew that the law itself, the enduring and inexorable law, was the teacher of all this, and that its chief executioner was the very government whom, with something like a bitter irony, he was called on to implore and

on when faltering, and a counsellor to guide in doubt and in peril, will easily comprehend the all-commanding influence of that communion which then existed between the Catholic clergy and the Catholic laity of Ireland. Skelton has been admired for the Christian mildness with which he endured the obscurity and rudeness of a distant village. There were many Skeltons amongst the Catholic clergy, educated in the splendid courts and the learned halls of the continent, accustomed as much as he was to the elegant aspirings, and the consoling enjoyments of a studious and dignified leisure ; but unlike Skelton, they dwelt not in the tranquil shadow of a protecting and paternal government but in the midst of the shadow of death, with the inquisitor eye of a persecuting code about their paths ; teaching in the very sight of the gibbet, and often laying down their lives in testimony of the doctrines which they taught, with a calmness, a constancy, an exultation, which would have dignified even a primitive Christian, and in wilds and wastes, pathless and houseless, whose names, in more than one instance, were scarcely known to the very legislators who sought their blood. But their courage, though of the highest temper, was purely passive. Forced by the impolicy of the legislature abroad, they had,

they could recover their original stature. By long bending, they had become bent; their mind, like a human body long confined within too small a prison, had been doubled up within them, and refused itself to the free functions of other citizens. The scourge had ceased, and the fetter had been unlocked; but for years afterwards the scar and the brand remained behind.

It may easily be conceived that with such elements little could be hoped for Ireland, until a more favourable conjunction of public and private circumstances should chance to arise. In the very first effort, for the redemption of the Catholic, every opposition was made to the regenerators: nor is it probable that, for many years after, any similar attempt would have proved successful, had not, in a quarter least suspected of any disposition to such coalition, new materials for the nucleus of the future body offered themselves nearly formed to their hands. The Aristocracy and Clergy not only

the first time, a little after the bill had passed, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared amongst his fellow-citizens as an intruder, and shrunk back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. It was with difficulty, and on the most urgent occasions only, he could be prevailed on to quit it. Seldom he appeared on the walk afterwards, and it was always with the averted eyes, and the faltering step of a slave.

nistration, he did not recur to open denunciation, or the rude mechanism of a penal law, whose inefficiency, at least in affairs of property, is generally in the direct ratio of its violence; but under the specious pretext of enlarging the limits of acquisition, and of multiplying the choice of investiture, he originated the plan for the repeal of the existing prohibitory statute against purchasing estates of freehold and inheritance, still leaving such estates, as previously, exposed to the searching visitation of the existing law. He was well aware of the predilection for landed security amongst all capitalists, a predilection then conspicuous in Ireland, as in every country whose chief manufacture is the working of the soil; and he entertained a hope, which probably for a time would have been justified by experience, that the Catholic merchants (many of them anxious to repurchase their family estates) would at once have transferred their profits to such purchases, and thus have exposed themselves anew to the embracing injuries of the gavel act, to bills of discovery, and perhaps after a series of successive vexations, to the final reversion of their properties to Protestants. By a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, Lord Chesterfield was recalled; and the Catholic merchant drawing new strength from his very

trievable apathy, predestined to hopeless and irredeemable bondage, reconciled to their Helotism; and gradually demoralising with their gradual oppression, were at last esteemed incapable, like the Greeks of a few years past, of effectually throwing it off. A few men and a few years changed all this. The Catholics too had their Rigas and their Ypsilantis; men whose deeds were not equal to their wishes, but who rendered the first of services to an enslaved country, turning its eyes inward on its own miseries, and teaching it how best with its own right hand it might render such services in the appointed season to itself.

Their first resolution, therefore, was to strike directly at the obstacles which most impeded

worthy conduct in *former* times," and apologising for their timidity and indolence on the ground of their considering "that the *present* time was not the most proper for the consideration of the subject proposed to them," he continues, "Let me suppose—let me convince myself, that they saw further into the expediency or in expediency of the step proposed (*the address*) than you or I did, and yet our end is the same, though our means may be different." A little lower down, he gives the objections which might, and which probably were, urged by the anti-addressers. They are plausible enough, and precisely of the same colour as those which have long been and are still urged by the "cautious and temperate of the body almost every day."

communicated at first to the aristocracy and clergy. But the very circumstances (as Mr. O'Connor fully explains them in his correspondence) which produced this rejection, limited the original society to very few. The merchants of Dublin were its first, and for a time its sole members. It was the first collection of individual Catholics, since the Revolution, who dared to meet and consult on Catholic affairs. So far it deserves the gratitude and thanks of posterity : it was much in such times to have commenced at all. But its organization was incomplete ; its exertions timid. The gentry and clergy not only kept themselves cautiously and reprehensibly aloof, and scorned all connexion with its members, but laughed contemptuously at its labours, and interposed every obstacle to prevent, to discourage, to neutralise its success.

The result, as might be expected, was for a time inoperative and unproductive. But its founders did not despair. The Address which had been drawn up previous to the formation of this association, expressive of the loyalty of Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of Dublin, was soon signed by four hundred respectable names, and presented to Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker of the House of Commons, by two gentlemen of the Catholic

they may be temporarily overgrown. After a long delay and suspense, during which the addressers had almost repented of their effort, and the anti-addressers had already begun to triumph in this compensation to their wounded pride, over the mortification and disappointment of their opponents, an answer was at last returned, on the 10th of December, by the Lord Lieutenant through the Speaker to Mr. M'Dermott, and afterwards ordered to be inserted in the Irish Gazette. It conveyed "assurances that the zeal and attachment which the Catholics professed, could never be more seasonably manifested than in the present conjuncture" (Lord Delvin was not answered in this manner), "and that as long as they conducted themselves with duty and affection, they could not fail to receive his Majesty's protection." These were the first words of encouragement given by the House of Hanover to its oppressed Irish subjects. They diffused universal joy. Addresses poured in from all sides; but so debased by the most servile adulation of the reigning powers, and by ungrateful vituperation of the French, to whom from the treaty of Limerick up to that hour, they were indebted for every benefit;—the exile for his home;—the scholar for his education;—their

more active portion of their body, the success of their last measures fully determined their total separation. Their sagacity was questioned, their pride was deeply hurt. They seceded altogether from "the merchants;" and from thenceforth refused all co-operation whatever with the Association.

But the impulse which had just been given would have subsided probably in the very circumstances which had given it birth, had not the more judicious leaders of this small but independent party taken advantage of so unexpected a circumstance to give it a permanent and practical form. Nothing could be done without a working and efficient machinery. The spirit was good, but it should not be suffered to escape in idle and useless acclamations. They were only at the beginning of a struggle, which demanded combination and concert as well as determination. Circumstances favoured the execution of a project which had suggested itself more than once in the course of their proceedings. The address just alluded to had been originally discussed amongst a few individuals in private houses.* The number of persons who approved

* The first address (I believe Lord Delvin's) was the original cause of this feud. In Primate Boulter's letters may

communicated with Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor; he met with their concurrence; but he carried his views far beyond either—he attempted to embrace the People. He conceived the project of a great representative body, formed on general and permanent principles, and which, far from affecting to limit its representation to the interests of the aristocratic class, or to that of the merchants only, should extend its delegation to every rank of the community. The plan, after having been matured in solitude, was finally submitted to the few gentlemen Mr. Wyse could collect together in Dublin, in March and April, 1760. The first meetings were held in the Elephant tavern, Essex Street. Not more than three or four were found willing to attend them. The walls of Rome were not yet built; a child could leap over the intrenchments. In how few years these three or four persons were destined to increase to hundreds, the hundreds to thousands, the thousands to millions, until they at last took in an entire people! At one of these meetings Mr. Wyse proposed his plan. It was adopted with some slight alterations. The reader will see later how far it formed the principle of the various associations, boards, and committees, which were afterwards successively adopted. It particularly suggested the improved

honours of his name, “ and the dangers they had to risk, be fairly estimated by the circumstances of the times—the depression of the body—the opposition of the gentry—and the vigilance of their enemies—it will be acknowledged that their abilities, perseverance, and courage, are above all praise; and that their memories should be embalmed in the eternal gratitude of their countrymen.”

most astonishment, but which now can be furnished by any one county in Ireland. The addressers, emboldened by success, called it the Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. But the lords and clergy, particularly the nobility of Meath and Kildare, still inexorable, refused not merely their approbation but their concurrence.* They held a separate meeting at Trim, and passed a separate address. Both were accepted, and both inserted in the Gazette. But other seeds of discord were soon cast amongst them. The history of the cele-

* Mr. O'Connor was not a little affected by the conduct of both. "Despair, or pride, or indifference," said he, "or unmeaning motives," (the history of so many other refusals of the kind) "have arrested their hands, and with these we must bear as with the other moral evils of life. Will it be overlooked, that our *ecclesiastics* to a man have been entirely passive in the prosecution of this measure?" (*Letter, Feb. 6th, 1761, to Dr. Curry.*) Mr. O'Connor attributes their reluctance to the apprehension of Lord Clanbrasil's bill still hanging over them; but the coyness, evinced at that period and very often since, was a habit, originating rather from a long-continued series of suffering, than the result of any particular measure in the actual contemplation of parliament. For many years afterwards the clergy stood altogether aloof from the people. The late Association was the first to operate a perfect and entire consolidation of action as well as interest amongst all classes of the Catholic community.

whose contrasted and contending characters left for many years after very perceptible traces behind them, in the counsels and conduct of the Roman Catholics.

Both were of the noblest descent ; both of the highest personal character ; both of the most distinguished consideration in their own body. But here the resemblance ends : in every other particular no two men could be more decidedly opposite. Lord Trimleston had strong and natural hereditary claims to the gratitude of the Catholics. The Catholics were not ungrateful to Lord Trimleston ; they gave him at an early period of their struggle the immediate direction of their affairs, the control and management of their funds, and constituted him their official organ in all their communications with government. His private character was strongly coloured by the vices and virtues of his order. It has often been remarked, and often with such justice as to render the remark general, that the Catholic peer is, *ex necessitate rei*, from habit

are to be found in the old hostility between the two orders, and the habitual alarms and apprehensions of the landed proprietors. They had suffered much, and had much more to risk than the merchants. Besides, Lord Trimleston had his *own* address to propose, a good ground at any time for opposition to a *rival's*.

bending. In the whole course of those unfortunate transactions, the false principle with which he set out was harshly and insolently conspicuous. He recognised no right in any other body than the aristocracy to interfere in concerns, which he believed absurdly, though conscientiously, to be the business of the aristocracy alone. The People, as well in his eyes as in those of an Irish chancellor, were assumed not to exist; the commercial classes he considered and treated as audacious intruders on the rights of their superiors. His obstinacy, his superciliousness, at an early period, alienated from him the respect and attachment, first of the merchants, and gradually of the aristocracy itself. But for many years the latter body followed closely in his train, and allowed themselves to be made either the duped or willing instruments of his public and private tyranny.

To the perseverance and exertions of the founders of the committee the Catholics were scarcely less indebted for its existence and continuance, and its spirited labours for the advancement of the cause, than to the undaunted zeal, the large views, and the lofty spirit of another Catholic nobleman.* Lord Viscount Taaffe, more generally

* Contrast the character of these two men in their own correspondence, but particularly in the very ample letters of

of information were commensurate with his anxiety to vindicate the calumniated honour of his country, “ he was in the habit of undertaking annual journies in the depths of winter, from his residence in Silesia to London and Dublin, to procure an alleviation of their sufferings. No views of leadership mingled with his zeal; his exertions were known but to few, not blazoned forth in newspapers. His rank in the imperial court gave him access to the first circles in Great Britain; bred in camps, and educated in Germany, he impressed on senators and courtiers the impolicy and injustice of the penal code, with the bluntness of a soldier and the honesty of a German: his efforts had no small weight in softening the rigour of persecution. His unassuming manners, his elevated station, his great age and venerable appearance, but above all, his ardent zeal in the cause of his oppressed countrymen, procured him a preponderating influence in the councils of the Catholics; that influence was exerted in the great purposes, during a long life, of promoting union, extinguishing dissension, and rousing to exertion. He strained every nerve to procure the concurrence of the nobility and gentry, but met with insuperable obstacles in the pride of an aristocracy of slaves, and in the malignity of party spirit, which shed

the subscribers; but the Dictator, as he was justly termed, assumed the undivided control, and would suffer no intrenchment on this usurpation, or acknowledge the slightest authority, either on the part of the Committee, or the subscribers themselves, to interfere. This produced a very warm correspondence, in which Lord Taaffe's temper, sound sense, and Irish feeling, are most advantageously and touchingly contrasted to the arrogant conduct of his rival. The public indignation was universally excited;* but the Remonstrance, notwithstand-

* Mr. O'Connor, who may be considered as speaking the feelings of the Committee, though not actually a member, enters largely and warmly into the merits of this case. "You have laboured surely in vain," says he, (*Letter, May, 1761, to Dr. Curry*),—"when, in your representative capacity as a committee, you bear the dictatorial taunts of a single person, who has usurped the property of the public, and who refuses to be accountable for it, except in his own way, not in theirs!" And a little lower—"I would with great deference also urge that, in regard to the uses it should be applied to, there is nothing so difficult as may not come within the extent of our own common penetration, without the dictatorship of any one person who might presume to exert a power over it. He lodged the money in an honest man's hands; but surely he did so under the control of the proprietors, and whether express or tacit, is all alike; the Committee, as representatives of those proprietors, have a right to ease him of the burden, &c. If this dictator

history of public administrations ;—such a body had little chance of other than the most partial and transitory success, soon to be compensated by some new conquest, or larger assumption on the part of their antagonists. They were yet fated to endure numerous disappointments, and to fall into numerous and important mistakes, before they could hope to find themselves in the straight and sure path, which conducts to the enjoyment of perfect freedom. The discussions consequent on Lord Trimleston's arrogant retention of the public money were partially got rid of, by Mr. A. M'Dermot's surrendering what he held under his Lordship, and a certain delusive tranquillity was for a moment restored to the deliberations of the body itself;* but the repeated and iniquitous rejection of the Elegit bill, to which even personal selfishness would not consent to sacrifice

* Mr. O'Connor fully saw the dangerous results of these contentions, and thought no price too great to purchase future exemption from the violent interference of this nobleman. “ Plain it is that Lord T. is meditating some mighty matter for his constituents. I expect no good from him ; but if he does any, I do not grudge him the sums left in Mr. M'D.'s hands. He is a disease to our people, and I am confident they will never again subject any part of their property to his most arbitrary management.”—*Letter to Dr. Curry, Aug. 6th, 1762.*

and were the proximate causes of its final dissolution, after several ineffectual struggles (particularly from Dr. Curry), in the year 1763.

The results, however, of their exertions were still conspicuous ; the impulse given still continued, even long after the creating causes had ceased. They left behind them a regenerating spirit, productive of the most momentous consequences. The Catholic people for the first time began to feel sensible of their degradation : they began to reason, to compare ; they saw that it was not by an ignoble and passive acquiescence in such degradation, that they could work out the hopes of their redemption ; they saw that the silent slave was trampled on, and that the oppressor never yet relaxed in his oppression of his own freewill. A momentary interval of repose did not quench the young and earnest spirit which was gradually waxing stronger within them. New hopes arose out of new discussions, and new struggles arose out of new hopes. The debates on the late questions had produced very remarkable changes on all sides ; the discussions on Lord Kenmare's bill, code ; thwarted the measures which were attempted to remove it ; and continued for many years after the establishment and dissolution of the first Committee, the fertile source of every disorder.

bill, though still virulent with the old anti-Catholic spirit, evince a much more moderate

though not earliest instances "of that levying of money for unconstitutional purposes," which was so long the staple theme of invective against the late Catholic Association. The first levy of the kind, as well as I can recollect, occurred about the period of the Spanish Armada (*Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. ii.), when the Catholics of England, rich and poor, contributed their "Rent" of so much per man for the defence of their oppressing country. In Ireland, we find the one-penny subscription, at various periods; the Petitions indeed were generally got up by the only two classes, the aristocratic and the mercantile, who took any interest about them; but local questions like those just mentioned were defrayed by "a levy" of a small sum upon each citizen. The purposes to which it was usually applied were precisely similar. The Catholics of that day paid it into the Committee, and with this fund instituted suits, employed lawyers, defended actions, argued against bills before parliament, in the privy council, &c. The same clamour was then raised, as that which has so long edified the present generation. Like the Brunswickers, too, of our own age, the ascendancy men of that day adopted themselves what they condemned in others. The same House of Commons (*Boulter's Letters*, v. ii. p. 150, 151. 170. 192.) which had attacked with so much violence the collections which Catholics had raised in order to oppose the additions attempted to be made to the penal code, openly recommended similar collections (a recommendation faithfully adopted afterwards by the peasantry) amongst their own body against the tithe agistment. In a similar manner, the Catholics of the present day may quote precedent from

precipitating them into false measures, and mutual recrimination, and finally terminating in the dissolution of their committee, rendered them objects of pity or contempt, much more frequently than of apprehension, to their enemies;—yet these very enemies, from party and other motives, arising out of their own factious rivalries, were frequently obliged to call in these same Catholics to their alliance, and to make concessions to good sense and better feeling, which under other circumstances they would have scornfully disdained. Whatever were the quarrels of the ascendancy, there always resulted some advantage to the Catholics and their cause. Whether the government or the oligarchy were defeated, the Catholic could not lose. The notorious quarrel between the primate Stone and Boyle in 1753, which terminated so much to the advantage of Undertakers, and compelled the Managers to a reluctant surrender of patronage and public money, through an apprehension of an immediate refusal of the supplies; the succeeding contentions on the Elegit bill, in the final decision of which so many of the House of Commons were personally interested; but above all, the stratagems, and disputes, and changes connected with the Octennial bill of 1768, by rousing to habits of discus-

in terms of just bitterness, of the more than Protestant severity of the Catholic landholders ; and the thunders of the episcopacy, and the exhortations of the lower clergy, in the insurrection of Munster, fell idly on the affections and fears of the infuriated peasantry.* A similar line of demarcation runs on through all their proceedings down to the year 1793. In that year we still find the committee in collision rather than in connexion with the Defenders, and vainly attempting to interpose an influence which was never felt, and an authority which was openly derided between the loosened passions of the multitude and open insurrection. A similar separation of Catholic views and interests, in despite of all the intermediate means of communication, arising out of the contentions and discussions connected with the Rebellion or the Union, is extremely perceptible in their first appeals to the Imperial Parliament. It was reserved for the late Association fully to amalgamate the entire mass ; to compress with a broad hand the sufferers of every denomination into one body, and to give for an indissoluble bond of union the perfect sense of common injury, the most extensive sympathy with

* See *Mr. O'Connor's Letter*, June 1, 1762 ; and the *Pastoral Letter* to the Diocese of Cloyne, March 2, 1762.

joint power of Lord Taaffe and of Lord Trimleston. Their first measures were not characterised by much judgment, or much indiscretion. But a fortunate concurrence of circumstances soon arose, and by the operation of those personal feelings which had obtained so considerable a support for the Elegit bill, much more than by any extraordinary exertion on the part of the Committee itself, were at last granted those important concessions of 1776, which for the first time relaxed the severity of the anti-Catholic code, and laid the sure ground-work of future equalization. The necessities of the Protestant pleaded for the freedom of the Catholic, and for once a sounder policy than the miserable principles of his statute-book, led him blindly but surely to a just sense of his own interests, and a more generous feeling for the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen.

citizens to keep in permanent subjection the other. Living in sight of free institutions, every man must naturally desire to be free. In such societies, there is always a tendency to proper and just equalization, which no restrictive or oppressive statute can long continue to prevent, without injury to every portion of the community. Palliatives and expedients will not do. The moral law cannot be violated with greater facility than the physical. Press the air into one place, it will gain elasticity and try to escape in another; throw a stone into a smooth stream, it will foam up into a torrent about you; bridge or bar it across, even in the moment you are turning round it will overflow upon you. The code which stripped the Catholic of almost every civil right, could not altogether pluck from him the heart of a true citizen. It left some redeeming recollections, some stings of honest indignation, some stubborn visitings of ancient feeling, which in their good time were destined to rescue him from the "foedum crimen servitutis," from the deep debasement (sin and misfortune at the same time) of general and unresisted slavery. The progress of this great change even in its commencement is singularly striking. With all the littleness clinging about them, the first efforts of the Catholics gave

invasion, than they began to experience in their own persons and properties the painful results of their own insane policy. The land was cleared of its cultivators ; the Papist was ejected by public hostility and private fear in every direction ; the equal was reduced to the state of servant, and the servant soon debased to the state of slave. But when every passion was gratified, and every evil wish was made deed, they found themselves as far from the imaginary national or even personal advantages which their selfishness had pictured to them, as at the very outset of their legislative career. The taskmaster had been injuring his own property : in impoverishing the Papist, the Protestant had been impoverished also. It was soon found necessary to allow the “ hewer of wood ” and “ the drawer of water ” sufficient force for the task : * there was no advantage to be derived from a sick or a dying servant ; their avarice calculated, and the *matériel* of their subsistence, of their luxuries, of their power, being *Catholic men*, Catholic men were allowed just as much of liberty as was found essential for Protestant purposes. The chain was loosened that the slave might work.

* Ignovit abavus tuus victis ; nam si non ignovisset, quibus imperâsset ?—*Seneca de Clementiâ*.

ther theological or statistical, failed. It was one of those New Reformations which passed over the country, leaving it more grievously and obstinately Papist than before. Then followed the usual inconveniences of landed property—heavy loans, high interest, fraudulent mortgages, oppressive incumbrances. It was necessary at last for the proprietor to sell;—but in order to sell, it was necessary also there should be purchasers. None could be found. The English kept close within their happier homes, and left the Undertakers and their retainers to themselves. A few adventurous capitalists, indeed, swimming on the surface of society, dropped in occasionally from England amongst them, but these visits

families, who still inhabit it, are stout Papists, and were the foremost in the late election against his Lordship. The place is still called “Graigue Shoneen,” or “The Rock of the Protestant.” In the county of Limerick, they have borne better fruit; many descendants of the Palatines still adhere to the religion of their forefathers. A great portion of Lord Southwell’s tenants are Protestant. Misrepresentations on this head are visible at all periods of Irish history. Contrast Mr. Le Hunt’s statements in the debate on the bill for enabling Catholics to take securities on land in 1764, and Primate Boulter’s pathetic remonstrances on the diminution of Protestantism, with Mr. Seymour’s lamentations on the modern emigrations and the 400,000 armed men of Master Ellis.

testant ascendancy in Ireland. A conqueror disdains toil; trade is unworthy of his caste; but it is still necessary that the conqueror should be supported. In the same manner that the Turk suffered the Greek to toil for him, so the Catholic was suffered to become the merchant of the country, and to produce for the Protestant: the English Protestant continued to be the spender and consumer of the produce of the Irish Catholic. It is not difficult to conjecture which of the two, after the lapse of a century, would have accumulated profits—which would have been the lenders—which would have been the middle-men—which would, in fine, have been the purchasers, and which the sellers of landed property. The Catholic became, by the very force of things, proprietor; and Protestant ascendancy raged when it was too late against the work of its own hands. These internal inducements to relaxation were further strengthened by the embarrassed situation of our foreign relations. I find, July 4th, the Congress of America publicly proclaiming their independence; and in the October of the same year, 1776, the first act for Catholic relief passing, without much opposition, both Houses of the Irish Parliament.

The bill of 1776 thus gave the first legitimate sanction, the first opening to the natural exer-

tocratic character than the first. The amalgamation of the nobility and gentry with the merchants, gave additional weight and lustre in the Protestant eye to their deliberations. Lord Kenmare was the ostensible leader of this body. He had few of those qualities which are necessary to sway or to enlighten a multitude. Affecting to control and to direct popular movements, no man seemed less acquainted with the moral machinery by which popular purposes are usually effected. He was cold, unconciliating, timid, yet fond of petty power, influenced by puny ambition, hanging between the Catholic and the Protestant, and sacrificing alternately, and generally unpropitiously, to the evil genii around the Castle on one side, and to the chained spirit of his country on the other. Lord Kenmare, unlike Lord Taaffe, saw nothing on a broad national scale : he sincerely desired relief from grievance ; but he looked for such relief to paltry artifice, secret diplomacy, bureau influence, and all that miserable train of official expedients, by which no people were ever yet delivered from their bondage, nor any revolution truly national or permanent effected in a great or an enlightened community. Lord Kenmare was a mere second-rate negotiator ; and, in such a warfare, a Catholic nobleman had little chance

tative character in the construction of the same body. The representative system of Mr. Wyse, by the junction of the lords and their adherents, had been given up, in an unwise spirit of sacrifice to existing prejudices, and in its place had been substituted a heterogeneous compilation. Several members stood there, in their irresponsible individual capacity, and others again attended as deputies from their fellow citizens.

To remedy these abuses, after a variety of modifications, the celebrated Plan of 1793 was finally adopted. It was preceded by a reconciliation between the Kenmarites or seceders, and the sub-committee, or acting portion of the general committee of 1773. The document which provided for the immediate execution of this project, signed by Edward Byrne, the then secretary, is to be found under the name of "Instructions" in *W. Tone's Memoirs*. The reader will perceive the alterations which the circumstances of the times suggested and required, by comparing them with the original plan of Mr. Wyse.*

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| <p>* <i>Association or Committee of Representatives, according to Mr. Wyse's plan in 1760.</i></p> <p>1. A member for each</p> | <p><i>General Committee of Delegates according to W. Tone's plan in 1793.</i></p> <p>1. Two or three residents</p> |
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plans. The first object of both, under a singular parity of circumstances, was to deliver the body from the dead-weight of aristocratic apathy and pretension ; and the second to obtain as fair an expression of the public will as could well be hoped for under the numerous public and private difficulties with which they had to contend. This was originally considered desirable by Mr. Wyse. In consequence of the additional experience how impracticable it was to work the interests of the Catholics by the sub-committee, such an arrangement was now deemed indispensable: In the execution of Mr. Wyse's project, it was found that not only the Dublin members were more constant in their attendance, but that also scarcely any one of the country gentlemen was chosen, or if chosen, subsequently took the trouble to attend the deliberations of the body. In recurring to a similar plan of organization,

<p>The secrecy which was required in both instances was particularly requisite : in the one, by the alarm of Mons. Thurot's invasion a month or two before ; in the other, by partial insurrections in various parts of the kingdom, under various names.</p>	<p>tend his duty in Dublin, when required to do so by order of the committee, or at least who shall not promise to attend in his turn. At the same time the county delegates shall not be required to be present except on very important occasions.</p>
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very generally awakened from its stupor: it was then important to prevent as much as possible confusion. Primary elections, after the manner of the electoral colleges of France, prevented errors, and avoided all publicity; and at the same time, from the very nature of the parochial assemblages, &c. (to which on other occasions the people were sufficiently habituated), they had the character of emanating directly from the people. But the most important difference between the plan of 1760 and the plan of 1793, was the permission given, directly or indirectly by the former, to landed gentlemen to assist at the deliberations, though not regularly chosen. The Committee thus partook of a double character, *individual* and *representative*, which led to a variety of defects and corruptions, such as must always result from the absence of control, responsibility, and the free and just action of public opinion. The “*Instructions*” of 1793 complain in formal terms both of the principle and results of this unquestionable evil. They propose to remove it by an important improvement. The Dublin delegates are reduced considerably in number for the same object: “a measure,” say the Instructions, “which was always desirable, but which could not heretofore be accomplished, as the attendance of

apprehension of foreign attack joined its terrors to the conviction of internal discord and disturbance, and the question been suddenly converted to one of mere personal danger and party expediency, the weapons of right reason and well-established fact would have fallen blunted and pointless from the shield of the ascendancy. The lessons taught by the errors and omissions of the revolution of 1782 had been seized but by few. The partizans of popular rights had never imagined in that momentous struggle, that they were contending only for a *party*; that their triumph was in name only a national victory; and that the trophies and fruits would be strictly confined to the immediate combatants, and their adherents within or without the walls of parliament. The colony was every thing, the nation nothing.* The only

* It is a remarkable circumstance, that when every other question of public reform, and the most enlarged views of national improvement, were liberally entertained by the patriots of 1782, Catholic emancipation, which ought to have been the base of all, was pertinaciously and punctiliously excluded. This was building the world on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise. When the question for the enfranchisement of the Catholics was put in the committee, only two or three were for it; so small indeed was the number, that all idea of proposing it to the Convention was surrendered. Yet this was the same

had never amalgamated with the opposition; that the cry of independence did not proceed from a nation. In her own good season she stepped in between both parties, and crushed both alike into their ancient servitude and servility. The Catholic had been studiously excluded from the advantage of the contest—he felt no interest in sharing the resistance or the danger. The patriots of 1782 gradually disappeared; they became apostates, and fell back into their ancient ranks amongst the ministry; or still resisted, few and proud, and were many of them afterwards duped or driven into flagrant rebellion. In no instance did they sufficiently appeal to moral force; they had no people, neither great numbers, extensive intelligence, or general organization, to fall back upon. In the year 1792, these consequences every day became more and more perceptible, and every moment brought closer the crisis, between freedom and tyranny, between licentious independence on one hand, and utter despotism on the other.

Some symptoms of that organization which subsequently led to the rebellion of 1798, had already begun to discover themselves. The North had begun to form those provincial, county, and parish committees, which were afterwards converted into companies, regiments,

thereby become the direct means of combining the scattered fragments of Irish strength, the *disjecta membra* of the old Irish party, against the usurpation and abuses of the English. The moment that one portion of the nation could not be efficiently governed through the fears and selfishness of the other, the common trafficker, in their common rights, would be obliged to recur to open force; and in this doubtful conflict between nation and nation, and not as hitherto between faction and faction, there were great difficulties and great risks to encounter. But these motives of themselves were not sufficient. The public was not yet sufficiently awake to these perils, the administration was not gifted with a vision sufficiently large and statesman-like; they preferred meeting the danger to providing against it, and thus added one precedent more to the many already given, that nothing was to be had from England but by menace or open force. The war with France soon put an end to all this hesitation. It was the signal of an inglorious surrender. The Relief bill had been flung contemptuously from the table of the House in 1792. The year succeeding, the same message which announced the declaration of hostilities, recommended also the largest concessions to the Roman Catholics.

had perfected the art of acquisition. The Catholic then was what the Jew still is. There

by Cromwell. By the act of settlement, the English-Irish church obtained 5,140,000 acres. Towards the close of the same century, Catholic property was much diminished. Lawrence says distinctly (in *his Interest of Ireland*, a treatise published in 1682), "that of 10,868,949 acres returned by the last survey of Ireland, the Irish Papists are possessed but of 2,041,108 acres." This makes about one-fifth of the whole; but other writers (*Hallam's Constitutional Hist.* vol. ii.) think the proportion was still less,—and express a doubt, whether even one-seventh of the fee remained in the possession of the Catholics. 1,060,792 acres had been lavishly granted to English settlers. Sir W. Petty, so late as 1672, still gives the Catholics one entire half. The change of property, and the progress of confiscation, must thus have been most rapid; and this very rapidity, which of course implies violence, inspired very natural fears of a similar resumption on the part of the actual proprietors. The whole anti-Catholic code was dictated by this apprehension, was sustained by it, was continued by it. The laws relative to intermarriage of Catholic and Protestant were intended to act as bars to the peaceable re-acquisition by the usual operation of the relations of society of these confiscated lands. Such laws were passed against the mere Irish, 28 Hen. VIII. The disarming, and disfranchising, and excluding acts, were intended to prevent a more open and *forcible* re-seizure. Many even of the preambles of those statutes bear the clearest testimony to the existence of this dread. Protestant wealth was gradually falling back, by family alliances to the old proprietors. When commerce was thrown into their

to him new channels for his activity and intelligence; he felt within him another soul, the thirst for other distinctions. He had wealth, and he was anxious to convert it into gratification. He found himself suddenly empowered to purchase land. He became a landed proprietor: but with the land the privileges which the land gives were withheld. He was thus in an *unnatural* state still, and had advanced only from a greater to a lesser degradation. The same anxiety which provoked his exertions in former instances, redoubled them in the present. If he had been desirous to invest his capital in the soil, he now felt much more strongly the desire of acquiring all the advantages for which such investiture is usually coveted. Intelligence and education had advanced with a pace scarcely less rapid: * the relaxations on education had

* In the year 1731, from an *Abstract of a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons*, it appears that in the entire kingdom, besides huts, sheds, and movable altars, the number of mass-houses was 892,—the number of private chapels, 54,—the number of nunneries, 9,—the number of Popish schools only 549. Fourteen years ago, the schools of Ireland amounted to 4000. They now amount to 18,000. The proportion of Catholics educated in these schools, to other sects, is about 3 to 1. In Munster alone, there are 171,000 children educated.—*Second Report of Commis-*

hibited. He opened the history of the country, with the Catholic priest on one side, and his own Catholic family on the other, for his commentators and interpreters, stinging him onward at every line to some new and exciting conclusion. The ascendancy saw their error ; and instruction, home-made and home-directed, was permitted, and at first but barely permitted, by the law. Rather than have a French enemy to teach and an Irish rebel to learn, they deemed it wiser to teach themselves. The Catholics had thus acquired land, and acquired information ; they were forced on involuntarily by both elements, to the acquisition of the object for which both are valued, an equal share in the honours and emoluments of the state, eligibility, and enjoyment, of their share of political power. This was the principle of their struggle in 1793. If the victory was not fully achieved, the fault lay with themselves. Fatal circumstances, and the old feuds still raging “sub cineri doloso,” even in the improved state of their body, did more against them than any steady system of opposition which they met with in either house of parliament.

Up to the very moment of concession, the General Committee conducted the affairs of the body with great prudence and propriety. The

held their meetings with great regularity and order, and adopted into a series of measures well calculated to bring into general action the dormant energies of their community. Their public papers, owing perhaps to the judicious selection of their secretary, Wolfe Tone, exhibit at this period a capacity and vigour far beyond any former document connected with their question. There had been, indeed, in progress through the body itself, a powerful though silent revolution. The Catholic had not shut his eyes to the signs of the times, but had lifted himself up to gaze from the very outset with all his strength, and with all his soul, at the great instruction which every day's events now placed before him. A larger and more liberal philosophy, a more becoming spirit of liberty, elevated their new struggles for freedom. The debates were animated,—bold,—instructive. There is a marked evidence of the accumulation of intellectual wealth, in the variety and accuracy of the views, and of firm thought and independent habits in the numerous and conflicting parties, by which they were supported. The effects of the relaxations of 1776 were every where visible; the seed had not been cast upon a rock, nor amidst brambles, nor to the winds of heaven; every where it developed itself in powerful

man,—his education solid rather than elegant, and more to be esteemed for the ready weapons which it furnished from its armoury for practical and every-day purposes, than for any stores of rich classic lore which it presented, or the exuberance of that Irish imagination which is so much the theme of self-complacent panegyric amongst all classes of his countrymen.

But the character and intellect of John Keogh was eminently, was especially framed for the times. It was the offspring of the existing opinions and the local circumstances of the body. No man could more felicitously seize, or more promptly bend both, when necessity required it, to his purpose. Attempered by a happy admixture of the bold and the judicious, of the daring and the deliberative, thoughtful but firm, moderate but not weak, he formed in himself the connecting link between two periods, the most opposite in view and spirit, of Catholic history. He gave a movement far more general than any which had yet been experienced to the Catholic mind : the materials which he had to work with were, it is true, but few ; but his skill in their management, his knowledge of the means by which they could be applied to the best practical advantage, under every circumstance, was extensive and profound. By the secession of the

ple, debarred them from all chance of a great national junction. The exertions of John Keogh were thus in appearance local ; but the results were felt later in every portion of the body. He achieved the first great triumph of the Catholic cause by a series of measures, none of which were distinguished by any peculiar brilliancy or effect ; but so well linked together, and so minutely adapted to their end, that it was impossible to refuse them, when you arrived at the result, the praise of the most perfect and consummate address. To the object he had in view, and the body with which he had to deal, his mind and manners, his frame of thought and colour of expression, his writing and his speaking, were singularly adapted. It was all quiet, business-like matter-of-fact ; no display ; little expenditure of art ; every thing for an express and intelligible purpose.* In a few years he gave the cause that ascendancy in the mind of Europe, which augmented ever after with obstacle, and has gone on, drawing strength from difficulty, to its perfect and final consummation. The General Committee, sharing little

* Yet John Keogh was not without his vanity. The pages of *Tone*, and the recollection of his friends, will furnish numerous instances. But this is a trifling accusation : much more serious charges have been made against his honesty.

CHAP. V.

Omissions and defects of the bill of 1793—Causes thereof—Gratitude of the Catholics—Servility of the Aristocracy—General apathy—Rebellion of 1798—Effects of the relaxations—Improved condition of the Catholics—Increasing anxiety for their total emancipation—Meetings to petition for that purpose in 1805—Draft of petition rejected—Oligarchical meetings in Marlborough Street—Mr. Ryan—Indignation of the country—Aggregate meeting in Stephen's Green—Attempts to reorganise the General Committee—Similar attempts in 1807, 1808—Aggregate meeting in William Street in 1809—Establishment of the Third General Committee on a similar plan to that of 1790—Elements of which it was composed—The Aristocracy—The Clergy—The Bar—The people, still of little influence—Character of the leaders—Lord Fingal—Lord Gormanstown—Lord Ffrench—Lord Trimleston—Mr. Scully—Mr. Hussey—Mr. Clinch—Dr. Dromgoole—Dr. Troy, Catholic archbishop of Dublin—Surviving members—Proceedings of the Committee—Proclamation to disperse it under the Convention Act by Mr. Secretary Wellesley Pole—Arrest of the members—Trials—Dissolution of the Committee.

THE relaxations of 1793 were given in a narrow, bargain-like spirit. The grant was not on any embracing principle of national policy. It included little of prospective wisdom. It was a panic-struck capitulation,—a sacrifice of

motives led to admission to the magistracy, to the admission to grand juries, &c.* As long as eligibility to the higher offices of the state was refused, such privileges conferred only a larger patronage on the oligarch ; augmented the abuses of the aristocracy, left the people very much where they were, and above all, played the miserable policy of the Caudine Forks, liberated, but disgraced ; loosened one hand, idly dreaming that it would never loosen the other ; gave power, but continued discontent ; and sent out of the prison-house a host of captives—branding them at the same time with the name of slave, and refusing them, though free, the communion and rights of free citizenship.

This emancipation of shreds and patches, this half-equalization bill, would soon however have produced its natural results ; and, in a session or two, the *libertino patre nati* would have become perfect and natural freemen, had not the perils which the minister apprehended reached

* The Catholics were also rendered admissible to Corporations by the enacting clauses of the act ; but this concession was altogether neutralised by the provisos which followed : nothing illustrates more clearly the spirit of reluctant surrender in which this bill was framed. The Corporations of course profited by this mistake. Catholics continued to be excluded.

Directory, opened through its agents a communication with the heads of the republic.* The results of this connexion were soon perceptible. Fleets were fitted out, and military preparations were made in every direction through France, to co-operate with the members of the union in their projected attempt to throw off the dominion of England. The promptitude and judgment with which these arrangements were effected, were however rendered nugatory at a most critical moment, by a series of fatal circumstances, over which human wisdom and human effort could have little control.* Leinster and Munster had been but partially organised—Connaught not at all. The union after repeated deliberations came to the determination to rest on their arms until the whole of Ireland could be brought into the same state of perfect combination; this in ordinary cases would have been sound policy—the most judicious course which bold but prudent men could have adopted. But it necessarily produced delay. The Irish government were thus allowed both time and means in the interval, to come at an accurate knowledge of the whole conspiracy. It met, instead of waiting for the

* Hoche's expedition.—Little less than a miracle saved Ireland. Steam was not yet in use.

mises—the Protestants with realities. The Catholics *were to have* a total and immediate emancipation,* but the Protestants were left in *possession* of their old ascendancy. Thus between them both the Union was triumphantly carried. It had the direct sanction of parliament, and appeared to have the concurrence and approbation of the nation.

During all this period the Catholic cause remained very nearly stationary. Some trifling attempts had been made in 1796 and 1797 to obtain the portion of rights which still remained behind, but with as little success as had attended the first struggles of their forefathers for relaxation. The rebellion of the succeeding year, in its far larger and more terrible interest, absorbed all secondary considerations. The feelings and claims of the Catholics were lost in the clash of the national encounter. Neither was there evinced on the restoration of tranquillity a much livelier inclination to stir in their own affairs. Civil war was still too recent: every

* The evidence of Lord Rossmore, Colonel Curry, and the documents connected with the transaction itself, had, for a considerable time back, left little doubt of the accuracy of this assertion on the mind of the public. But the statement of the Duke of Wellington in the late debate places the question now beyond all cavil.—Henceforth it must be considered as a portion of authentic history.

the temper of the Roman Catholics. The General Committee had been dissolved, and no further proceedings were entered on, till long after the period of the Union. When the wounds and terrors which the Rebellion had left behind, were nearly forgotten, and the pledges which the union held out were impudently denied, the Catholic once more began to look to his own exertions for a perfect equalization with other classes of his fellow-countrymen. The concessions of 1793, by the niggard and jealous spirit which had survived them, a spirit fully sanctioned by the illiberal policy of the remaining portion of the exclusive code, continued, as far at least as practical results were in question, for many years very nearly inoperative. The brand and the inferiority still endured: the relaxations had in nothing secured the Protestant, and had but partially benefited the Catholic. He felt that he *ought* to rise to his natural level, and he soon felt, with a little more perseverance, that he *could*.^{*} These conclusions, after long floating in the form of paragraphs in the public prints, or sentences in letters, or excla-

* Mr. Grattan says well, "that the slave is not so likely to complain of the want of property, as the proprietor of the want of privilege."—This was the difference between the Catholics of 1778 and the Catholics of 1793.

tible. The Catholics, in their own little republic, were still divided into oppressors and oppressed. The history of the Ryan faction, first conspiracy, then usurpation, is the concise sketch of all leaderships, where the people are not permitted directly or indirectly, through the intervention of some delegated organ, their free and frank veto in public concerns. Mr. Keogh for some time past had been compelled by his infirmities to a philosophic retreat at Mount Jerome in the vicinity of Dublin, and mingled but by intervals in recent Catholic politics. Mr. Ryan undertook to fill the vacuum his absence had created, and for a moment assumed the importance of a leader. His claims to private consideration I believe were not contested; like Mr. Keogh, he had risen from the mercantile body, and carried with him a large portion of its active and inquiring habits. But here his claims to public regard ended: he be-

spent in guarding against or in defeating domestic conspiracies. Hence caution, doubt, timidity: nothing can be attempted until they first have assured themselves upon what ground they stand.—This cannot be done in a moment. In the interval the Catholic gets angry, and treats his former friend as a cold patron, or a concealed foe. The Whig feels the suspicion—tries to remove it—risks a measure—fails—and is turned out by the *subalterns* and the *conspirators*.

dependants. The second meeting of this junta took place in Albion's Court, and proceeded at once to act for the entire Catholic body. The Catholic question, in acquiescence with the then views of Mr. Fox, was adjourned *sine die*; and in the place of a petition for redress of grievance, a fulsome compliment was voted to the new viceroy. A third close meeting followed, confirmed the arrangements of the preceding, and attempted to pass a vote of unlimited confidence in the actual ministry. An adjournment, however, to the 13th of March took place; when the Catholics, indignant at these assumptions, raised themselves simultaneously from their depression, and convened by public notice a numerous aggregate meeting of the entire body at the Farming Repository, Stephen's Green. This meeting effectually broke up the oligarchical knot, which had for some time affected to direct the proceedings of the Catholics. The venerable Mr. Keogh appeared on the occasion. His speech, and that of Mr. Lynch, met with the utmost attention: after accusing the sharers in the former meetings of the most absolute spirit of exclusion, and upbraiding them with the irregularity and confusion of their proceedings, he impeaches Mr. Ryan in particular of an assumption of high powers, and of a barter for private profit of public and important

tuted or aggregate body, after the manner of a club. The analogy to former cases would suggest the latter opinion; the reference to the proceedings of the parochial meetings the former. A series of meetings summoned in 1807, evince indeed rather a complex combination of the two systems; the parishes of Dublin sending delegates, and a certain number of gentlemen attending in their individual capacities, at the request of an aggregate meeting, to assist them. The public business, however, for a very considerable time, was managed solely, by means of committees and sub-committees, chosen by aggregate meetings, adjourning from time to time, and with powers only for that particular occasion and purpose. The meeting on the 18th of April 1807, and the withdrawal of the petition on the motion of Mr. Keogh, who still continued the business of the Catholics, finally dissolved, after a short and precarious existence, this feeble attempt at a second committee.

The aggregate meeting of January 1808, held in William Street, was of the same complexion. It produced nothing in the shape of a permanent body. The old committee continued lingering on with a few fragments, gleaned together from the wrecks of the delegation of 1792, the shreds of the thirty-six addressers, half

under the influence of aristocratic pretension, half under the direction of the mercantile interest, till, on the 24th of May 1809, a more numerous assembly was convened in the same place; and, after considerable discussion, a better description of organization was adopted. For the guidance of future proceedings, a committee was constituted *pro tempore*, from the aggregate of the materials just mentioned, affecting in reality, though deprecating in name, the principle of representation. It was in great degree the revival of the old general committee.* A point of union was thus fixed: public exertions were directed to a uniform and permanent purpose; Catholic strength was invigorated: Catholic weight and Catholic power were increased.

During the remainder of the summer, nothing of importance occurred. The general committee so constituted met on the 8th of November, and agreed to petition. On adjourning, they appointed a sub-committee to carry these intentions into effect. The General Committee met at various times, during that and the succeeding year, under the same form, and for the purpose

* See the Appendix, for the Resolutions. They comprise the form of the organization.

of conducting measures connected with their petitions for relief.

In the year 1810, as appears from the circular of the General Committee,* it was in the contemplation of its leaders to extend its influence by means of *local* committees, or boards holding communication with the general committee; but this system was not pursued, and it limited itself to the occasional local meetings, which took place from time to time, principally during the period of the assizes, in most of the Catholic counties of the South.

This breaking up anew of the Catholic mind, soon brought to the surface a new series of public characters. The chilling influences of old age, the visitation of malady, the recollections of the late rebellion, his suspicious connexion with men who had been its first victims, and the consciousness that the vigilance of the government was always on the watch, that the jealous ear of Dionysius was always open to every murmur, more and more induced that retirement from public observation which had been

* “ *July 30. Resolved, That the establishment of a permanent Board holding communication with the general committee in Dublin has been deemed, in several counties, highly useful to the interests of the Catholic cause.*”

lately remarked in the conduct and policy of John Keogh. But it was no longer in the power of any single man to control, or to send back to the places wherein they had slept, the loosened tides of popular emotion. New men with fresher feelings, intermingled indeed with a few of the old aristocracy, who lent a gravity and dignity to the proceedings, suddenly burst up behind him. It was in one of those meetings that the man to whom, chief of living men, the cause is indebted for its success, first appeared before that body, which he was afterwards destined to wield with a power far surpassing the utmost capacity or exertions of his predecessors. The Catholic Barristers, for the first time, appeared on the side of the people.* Their habits of business, their easy eloquence, their vivid appeals

*Catholic barristers, up to the period of which we are speaking, were only known as pensioners—the strings which the ministers held to move and direct the Catholic body. Fortunately their efficiency diminished in direct ratio to their servility. From an early hour the bar was crowded with these adventurers. They first entered (taking the oaths) as recusants, or converted Papists: then, on the relaxation, they continued, under a mongrel character, a something between Papists and Protestants. The government first tried to entrap and persecute them; but finding them too slippery, at last agreed to use them. See *Boulter's* lugubrious complaints.—(*Letters passim.*)

to the passions of the multitude, their recklessness of Protestant censure, their broad, emphatic, and sometimes daring statement of wrongs and grievances, indicated to the close observer that a new epoch had commenced in Catholic affairs, and that the time could not be long deferred, in which the whole people down to the lowest citizen should be engaged as allies in the great cause. But with this too, it must be remembered they brought some alloy with the gold; the peculiar habits of their profession, the party cunning, the factious view, the intrigue, the artifice, and the deceit;—a want of singleness and loftiness of purpose became conspicuous, and the noblest of causes was often degraded, in consequence of the introduction of this new ingredient, by the most contemptible and miserable of means. The ostensible chiefs of the body were of course those few members of the peerage, who supported with a wise and sagacious patriotism the exertions of their fellow-citizens. Lord Fingal, Lord Gormanstown, Lord Trimleston, and Lord Ffrench, with two or three of the Catholic baronetage, usually dignified the chair of their meetings, but for a considerable time left little or no impression on their deliberations. Their characters were singularly diverse. Lord Fin-

gal had all the better peculiarities of his order, with qualities which had borrowed from the trials through which they had passed, only a stronger tinge of virtuous and steady indignation at the wrongs which still continued to oppress his country. From his placid lips there never burst an unworthy complaint : he boasted and promised little ; but neither what he promised, did he ever fail to perform. His countenance, full of benignity, was a fit expression of the interior man : he was mild and modest : but there was also in him the firmness and honour of a true gentleman, the spirit and perseverance of a true patriot. Through all the after vicissitudes of the body, Lord Fingal never deserted its banners : he screened by his individual character, pure even from the breath of calumny, the errors and offences of an easily-excited people : he often threw himself into the breach, and singly repelled by the weight of his own consideration the reproof and interference of the government. Conciliating to all ; bearing all in patience ; sacrificing in nothing and to none his principle ; after a series of the most contrasted events, exhibiting the most opposite principles, he fully succeeded in producing a spirit of unanimity until then unknown in the Catholic

community, and left to his son an inheritance, the brightest which a father can transmit to his children, the praise of having successfully done his duty in difficult times to his country, and the glory of sitting down in the evening, full of years and honours, under the shadow of that national happiness, to obtain which he had cheerfully spent the morning and noon, of his existence.

Lord Gormanstown possessed in some measure the calm mind, and adopted in the entire the moderate and winning policy, of Lord Fingal. The temper and sobriety of both their characters placed in a still more striking and singular relief the bold and rudely-fashioned temperament of Lord Ffrench. There was nothing of the nobleman about this man; no grace; no soothing; no art; his mind and body were in strict unison, and adapted with a sort of marvellous felicity to each other. To look at his sallow and *farouche* countenance, lit with the gleamings of habitual sarcasm; to hear the deep whining, and the exaggerated roughness of his western accent; to see the huge giant frame, the unpowdered hair, the long club cue, the loose and lumbering coat, the slouching step, and the studious and somewhat savage neglect of this extraordinary personage—was

to bring over the imagination loose recollections of a French revolutionist, blended indeed with peculiarities essentially Irish, a composition inexplicable, and sometimes alarming, for which you had no type or interpretation in either country. Every thing about him, mind or body, was energy. His action came coarse, and swinging, and negligent, but always with a certain conviction of mastery, on the table. He thought vigorously and roughly; he spoke harshly; whatever was the topic, he cast through all, grave, or lofty, or indignant, as it might be, fantastic fragments of Irish humour, which left surprise, and pain, and emotion, strangely jumbled together, in the mind even of the most habitual of his hearers. The field in which circumstances had placed him, it was quite obvious was by no means that, which was the most fitted either for the man or his works. He was no orator, but he left you fearfully convinced that he might be something more. He seemed to have been born many centuries too late, and would have figured with far more effect as a general of the Kilkenny confederacy, than as a chairman of a small committee meeting in a back room in Dublin. The very look and gesture of the man was proof that there was hardly room enough in the existing state of the country and

the laws, for a full development of his energies : others talked of reasoning—he seemed to think of nothing but of action. In the age in which he lived people gazed on him with a sort of stupor, as an anomaly in accord with no class or with no feeling of their body. He had little influence with any ; they heard him for his rank and for his strangeness, and when absent they turned round and willingly forgot that he had ever been amongst them.

Nothing can be imagined more perfectly opposed to Lord Ffrench, than a nobleman with whose name the Catholics had been long familiar—I mean Lord Trimleston. The early years of his life had been passed in feudal France ; his opinions, his feelings, his whole *manière d' tre*, had been characteristically and indelibly affected by this sinister circumstance. The French revolution had burst on him in the middle of a circle of polished and chosen friends. Blinded by their sufferings and wrongs, he condemned every attempt, however limited or wise, for the attainment of their unquestionable rights on the part of the people. He saw nothing in that awful regeneration, but revolt against the best of institutions, insolent rebellion against the most sacred of titles, outrageous and detestable principles, unjustified by a single grievance, un-

redeemed by a single good. His person, his manners, his accent, were disagreeably and extravagantly French. All that he said or did, belonged to a class unknown and unfelt in Ireland. It was an emigrant from the army of Condé you listened to, and not to an indignant Catholic peer, the natural protector of an aggrieved people, rousing and directing, on the just principles of constitutional freedom, the combined exertions of his Catholic countrymen. If he addressed an assembly of rich merchants, or turbulent and enthusiastic tradesmen, if he stood in face of a crowding and anxious peasantry, it was of "the patrician blood of the Barnwells" only that he deigned to speak, and not of the broad and embracing slavery of an entire country. Such a man had no clue to the popular mind. He had little in common with Irishmen. They spoke different idioms. They could not understand each other. He occasionally appeared at public meetings—but his name more than his presence was sought after. Till the period of the total secession, resulting from the Veto quarrel, he appeared to have something like an influence over the aristocratic portion of the body; but this was an imaginary power, a sort of title by courtesy, conceded good-naturedly to the mere vanity of the individual. The real authority re-

sided in the committee and the sub-committees ; and both were under the immediate control and direction of the men of business, the barristers.

Amongst these latter, by far the most remarkable was Mr. Scully. He had received from nature far more of the statesman than of the orator. He was grave, cautious, secret, profound : no ebullition of vanity appeared upon the surface ; no involuntary revealings of feeling detected or even hinted the inward man. No person could more maturely weigh all the advantages of an arrangement before he submitted it to the passions of the multitude for adoption, or when once thoroughly penetrated with its utility, in despite of aristocratic sneer or popular clamour, no man was more unlikely to recede. Yet he seldom ventured into the enemy's camp ; and when he did risk attack, it was in those slight flank movements, those off-skirmishings of resolutions or debate, which were intended to produce little more than the momentary annoyance of an antagonist.* Few of his measures had

* Witness the petty manœuvres, I might use a much stronger term, connected with the celebrated *Witchery Resolutions*. In adopting the factious virulence of Lord D——, the leaders sacrificed the interests of the body to their own subserviency, or to their own interests. If the deed were bad, the manner of doing it was worse. Nothing

a bold and comprehensive character about them: he contented himself with that wearing, Fabian system of tactics, which was not indeed much calculated to dazzle or astound, and furnished little immediate gratification to his political self-love; but at the same time was certain of its result, and sooner or later in the fulness of a vigorous maturity brought forth its purpose. It is true indeed that the period for a more energetic description of warfare had not yet arrived: but it depended far more, after all, on the temper of the man, than on the circumstances of the time or place. There was a surly and sometimes a clumsy kind of Machiavelism about him, which more or less tinctured his entire policy. He hated the direct line, and preferred coming at the most obvious consequences by a circuit. "He could not take his tea without a stratagem;" nor could he be persuaded to make a people free or happy, without first deceiving them. His whole being was lawyerlike: he special-pleaded great rights, and would not have disdained to slip in through the half-open gates of the constitution, on a quibble. He was an admirable parrier; made few thrusts, but seldom received a blow. During his administration (for could surpass the folly of such an act but the perfect duplicity with which it was conducted.

such it may be truly called), the Catholic body erred little, retrograded little, but advanced little also. He tacked about, he curvetted, he made zigzag movements, but he never lost ground. He was singularly adapted to its then position, when prudence was far more essential than enthusiasm: there were times, later, when enthusiasm perhaps was far more necessary than prudence; and they also have been fully answered. Yet it would be vain to deny that Mr. Scully was gifted with qualities of a far higher order. His work on the *Penal Laws* is the work of a constitutionalist and a philosopher, as well as of a lawyer; and though the advocate is too constantly swimming like oil upon the surface, it is unquestionably the most thoroughly satisfactory exposure of the anti-social code which has ever been submitted to the public. The style is throughout in a strain of anxious expostulation, of justifiable earnestness, which evinces that Mr. Scully's powers were not only distinguished by the first-rate logical acumen, but were by no means inconsiderable in the lower regions of popular eloquence. Yet Mr. Scully was no orator: his person was unfavourable; low, squat, clumsy, it could only be redeemed from those physical defects by the general cast of his countenance. Yet even there was little which was not of a very

secondary order. The prominent nose, the broad forehead, was forgotten, in the small, weak, and almost inexpressive eye. The general contour has been likened to Napoleon's: but two faces, in their real character, could not be imagined more absolutely opposed. One was coarse, stout, bluff, common sense, with lines here and there of shrewdness or cunning; the other had all the delicate refinements, with all the substantial qualities, of the highest order of human mind. His action was irregular, rude, but often emphatic: his enunciation measured, yet unpolished; he employed public speaking as the means only—the carrying of the measure was the end. No man was less ostensibly before the Catholic public, yet no man more thoroughly governed it. He was felt in consequences; the *main de maître* was known only when the event had taken place. It was then the close observer might notice, if ever, a relaxation from his habitual reserve; and the sardonic smiles of triumph which shot over his countenance at a success which he had so patiently and perfectly ensured, were the best evidences how anxiously he sought, and how deeply he valued the enjoyment and retention of political power. During the whole period of his rule, he was absolute; and in whatever manner he chose to show himself

to the body, either through others or in his own person, seldom or ever did he meet with any like a steady or effectual opposition to his measures, or any essential falling off of that habitual respect which men contracted even for his faults.

Co-operating with Mr. Scully, or, in more precise terms, carrying into effect in public what Mr. Scully had resolved on in private, were very many men of unquestionable, though few indeed of commanding talents. The Bar at that time, like the University, was tolerably open to Catholic ambition. It furnished a numerous group of adherents to the new administration, who, content to be noticed in conjunction with the leader in debate, did not for the present aim at admission to the cabinet. Amongst the foremost of these serviceable men was Mr. Hussey. He was a ready every-day speaker ; he had the talent of a clever rifleman ; knew to a hair the point of attack ; could attain it easily and carelessly ; was expert at a sudden sarcasm ; could level an appropriate anecdote with sharp effect, and disappear from the search of his adversary in the very moment he inflicted the wound. Yet he was not deficient in the kindlier characteristics of a public man : no speaker could talk down an angry opponent, when it so pleased

him, into more provoking good-humour, or wipe away with a few words the bitterness of an entire debate. I do not know whether nature favoured him or otherwise in all this. There was something singularly Hibernian, no doubt, in the manner and matter of the entire man. He looked, smiled, and acted the brogue. His red hair and twinkling blue eye were not less idiomatic than his phraseology. This with Irishmen like himself might have told; with others it was worse than useless—injurious. Yet with all this he had many merits: he was an admirable political colleague; no man in the entire body was better fitted to the Guerilla warfare of a desultory debate. The initiating or conducting of a measure, however, was not the forte of Mr. Hussey: whether it was incapacity, or the indisposition of a gay and volatile nature, he addicted himself but little, or with little effect, to this severer kind of political study. He was a man who received and gave out quickly the impressions of the moment, but he retained nothing. His political enthusiasm was soon exhausted; he retired when others thought he was only commencing, disgusted or fatigued from public affairs. The public regretted their diminished amusement: his rivals, and he had many, rejoiced at his retreat.

A man of very different appearance and character was Mr. Clinch ; who, though a barrister, can scarcely be said to have adopted altogether the popular party. Studious, patient, informed, a perfect master of details, he viewed every subject in its minutest rather than its largest bearings, examined painfully every matter with the microscope in his hand, and elaborated, from the most confused and abstruse materials, conclusions which, when sufficiently understood, were received with wonder by his audience, but found totally useless when attempted to be carried into any real or practical effect. It was Mr. Clinch's misfortune, though in a different sense from Lord Ffrench, to have been born either too early or too late. He would have been venerated in the olden days of black-letter decisions and portly brass-claspt folios, in the times of the Bellarmines and the Scaligers, as a man *singularis et reconditæ sapientiæ*. In the present he might do no dishonour to the venerable judgment bench of the Roman Rota ; but in an assembly of ardent and inquiring Irishmen, whose feelings at all times travel so much quicker than their reason, and who required no quotation from moth-eaten statutes to prove to them the grievances which they found written in deep and enduring letters in their hearts, it

must be confessed that Mr. Clinch's eloquence and learning fell, like manna in the desert, and melted away into thin air, before any one could be met willing or able to collect it. He too, as much as Lord Trimleston, though in somewhat different way, altogether missed the national mind. He went on with it side by side, but always in a parallel direction. There was no point of contact between him and the country; his whole energies were spent in the *strenua inertia*, of solving little difficulties, or raising injuriously little difficulties into great ones. A nation was to be summoned from the tomb, and he went about examining the form and fashion of the sepulchre. Hence few listened, and fewer understood. His support was only of occasional value; almost always heard, in despite of his keen logic, with incredulity, and of his real knowledge, with neglect and impatience, he was always behind or beyond his audience.

————— "He went on refining,

And thought of convincing, whilst they thought of dining."

Such a man was too doctrinal, too dogmatic, too much a man of learned saws and nice precedents, for the fierce and fervent realities of ordinary political life. When the coarse struggle and the tumultuous clamour came onward, his

weapons, too delicate for such a warfare, shapt asunder, his voice was lost in the crowd. The fastidiousness of a learned leisure then seized him; he retired from a conflict in which rougher energies were requisite: he could not fight in so rude a field; he went home, and sighed in solitude over the fortunes of his country.

But Mr. Clinch was not a solitary instance of this morbid appetite for the learned obscurities of religious and political polemics. Another champion of the church, far more turbulent and warlike, arose in the person of Doctor Dromgoole. To him, as to the Duke of Newcastle, the question was a religious question—nothing but a religious question—and altogether a religious question. His armoury was almost exclusively from the Vatican: the weapon he delighted in was the double-edged sword of scholastic dialectics. The councils, the fathers, the dusty library of ancient and modern controversy, were his classics. Valiant, uncompromising, headstrong, he bore with a sulky composure, on his sevenfold shield of theology, all the lighter shafts of contemporary ridicule, and went on like another Ajax, or the poetic animal to whom he is compared in the Iliad, through staves and stones, to the accomplishment of his “solemn” purpose. His celebrated manifesto against “the Church

triumphant," or the established church of Ireland, created at the time a sort of absurd panic amongst friends and foes.* The anti-Catholic seized with avidity the opportunity of fastening the delirium of an individual on the sane portion of the body, much in as wise and effectual a way as the friends of Don Basilio in the *Barbieri di Seviglia* attempt to talk him into the sudden belief that he is attacked by fever. The Catholics thought it necessary to disclaim the imputation: a ludicrous and injurious precedent.† But Doctor Dromgoole was a champion of the olden times: he scorned to be deterred

* This panic, if we are to trust to the farewell speech of the Earl of Eldon (farewell speeches are rather doubtful things) still continues to agitate the country.

† Ludicrous, because it was attaching to these reveries the importance of sober truth; injurious, because it admitted the necessity of contradicting by *public resolution*, the speech of every individual which should contain opinions at variance with the opinions of the body. The consequences of this position are obvious. If such speeches were to be contradicted every time they were to be made, it is difficult to say where would have terminated the contradictions of the Association. If not, such speeches would necessarily stand as the avowed and recorded opinions of the entire Catholic community. The Catholic leaders were thus led very precipitately into a dilemma: they found sufficient difficulty a little later in getting out of it.

from the good work by the disapproval of “these men of little faith.” He persevered unto the end, discharging, even in the moment of his retreat from public life, some of those Parthian shafts of long-nourished hatred which he had brandished so boldly in the earlier part of his career. His latter days were spent with great propriety in the immediate shadow of the Vatican: finding few ears for his truths in Ireland, he had retired to Rome, but whether to organise an “army of the faith,” or to import a second Rinuccini for the modern Catholic confederacy, has not been transmitted to posterity. It was not without a smile that the Irish student sometimes met him, in the learned gardens of that capital, maturing with his accustomed leisure of thought and manner some new project “for the salvation of the infidels.” In his large bushy eyebrows bent solemnly to the earth, and his ponderous lips, scarcely ever opened but for a dogma or an anathema, and his broad sallow features spread out over an immense head, the signs of the times seemed visibly imprinted; and fresh hopes, at every time that he struck the ground with his heavy cane, appeared to be conjured up by the modern Thaumaturgus, for the glory and regeneration of Catholic Ireland.

To this Duigenan of the Catholic cause might

perhaps be very naturally added, at least by its opponents, the few of the prelacy who now, for the first time, had the courage or indiscretion of lending their names and exertions to those of their suffering fellow-countrymen; but it would be doing a sort of wrong to such men as Dr. Troy, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, to comprehend him in the list of such public combatants. He was notorious indeed for the ultraism of his ecclesiastical opinions; but no man was more indisposed to any undue display of his faculties than that very moderate dignitary. He had passed through times of doubt and difficulty, through ordeals of every variety, with a character respected equally by friend and enemy. The recollections of the past, and a more than usual intimacy with the Castle, now and then bowed him from that upright and elevated bearing, which is so much more natural and easy to the Roman Catholic prelate, as well as to the Roman Catholic layman, of our own times; but the defect and the evil were restricted to the individual; the period was gone by, when by the servility of any one, however distinguished, the general interests of the body could be much injured or affected. As a clergyman, Dr. Troy was *sans reproche*. In the same period, in which three prelates of the church of Ireland

had left behind them a sum little less than 400,000*l.*; Dr. Troy had nothing to bequeath to his family or to the public, but the remembrance of his charities, and a debt contracted chiefly in doing good.

Such were the materials with which the new committee had to work; for I purposely omit all mention of those men who at a later period assumed the direction of the Catholic cause, and have been reserved by a singular favour of Providence to witness the glory of its accomplishment. They are the property of another pen; and their conduct and measures, yet too recent to be dealt with in the spirit of a calm and cold justice by a contemporary, must patiently await the search and award of posterity. Even then they were dividing the favour of the multitude with their older servants, and giving evidence the most unequivocal of the good and bad of their future progress. The time was fast approaching when altogether another "birth of men" was to rush up behind the former exhibitors, far more audacious, far more successful, —gifted with firmer will, though scarcely with higher powers,—and who, placed in circumstances which, guiding them far more than they have guided the circumstances, have mainly combined, by some inscrutable disposition of

moral causes, ultimately to produce those great results, which seemed to defy the wisdom of the wisest, and the courage of the bravest before them.

The altercations which had taken place in 1805 and in 1808, had principally arisen from two sources of discord, which continued long to affect the body ; the constant contention for leadership ; and the apprehension of incurring, by any acts of a bold and independent nature, the displeasure of the superior powers. The first had led to very mischievous consequences : it had prevented the Catholics, as we have seen, from adopting for a considerable period any steady or well-organised body for the transaction of public business, or the proper communication with government or their friends in either house of parliament : the second produced a very wavering policy in the presentation of their petitions, which, instead of being brought forward as the expression of public grievance, in proportion as its pressure began more sensibly to be felt, were offered or withdrawn with a view only to the accommodation of parliamentary parties, and employed as an instrument of no mean efficacy, in the political warfare for power and place. But a principle of discord far more extensive, far more dangerous, far

more enduring, which continued for nearly eight successive years to distract and embitter the proceedings of the Catholics, in addition to the evils just noted, had lately sprung up amongst them. The precincts of a sketch * fortunately

* The history of the Veto is still involved in much obscurity. From the evidence which has already appeared, we may conclude—1. That the origin of the measure should be ascribed to the Board of English Catholics. In 1791, anxious for immediate admission into the pale of the constitution, they attempted to establish a church, *à la Utrecht*, independent of the Roman see, but preserving the old dogmas,—and adopted as their designation the significant name of Protestant Catholic Dissenters. These opinions were embodied in an oath, which they offered to take in lieu of the oath of supremacy.—*Plowden's History of Ireland since the Union*, vol. iii. p. 787. 2. That Sir John Cox Hippesley seized these suggestions, and matured them into the project of Veto.—*Substance of the speech of Sir J. C. Hippesley, Bart. on seconding the motion of the Right Hon. H. Grattan*, 1810. 3. That Mr. Pitt adopted this plan, and intended to make it part of his arrangements for Ireland.—*Lord Grenville's speech in 1810*. 4. That Mr. Pitt, through the agency of Lord Castlereagh, induced the Irish bishops to acquiesce in the proposition, and to sign the celebrated resolutions of 1799.—*Resolutions of 1799*. 5. That these concessions were made on the part of the prelacy in consequence of a distinct understanding that such concession should be followed by immediate emancipation. A similar promise obtained from the Irish Catholic laity their sanction of the Legislative Union.—*Lord Grenville's speech in 1810*.—*His*

preclude both the reader and the writer from entering much at length into this celebrated

letter, to his friends in Oxford, to Lord Fingal, &c. 6. That in 1805, Mr. Pitt declined fulfilling this promise, and refused to bring forward the measure of Catholic emancipation; that naturally he abstained from any allusion to the conditions which he had required for such promise from the bishops; and that Mr. Ponsonby and the other advocates for emancipation, with very few exceptions, were ignorant of such arrangement.—*Mr. Ponsonby's speech in 1810.* 7. That the rejection of the petition in 1805 induced Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan to suggest, when the petition was again brought forward in 1808, the necessity of conciliating more effectually Protestant prejudices; and that Lord Fingal in the first instance, and Dr. Milner (to whom Lord Fingal referred) in the second, made known the resolutions of 1799, and gave (substantially at least) their assent to the proposition of vesting a negative on the nomination of Catholic bishops in the crown.—*Mr. Ponsonby's speech in 1810, with the accompanying documents. Dr. Milner's letter to Mr. Ponsonby, and minutes of the conversation which followed it.* 8. That Lord Fingal was the sole delegate of the Catholics of Ireland, and Dr. Milner the accredited agent of the Irish Catholic bishops; but, that it may be doubted whether their powers extended to the discussion of such important matters as those comprehended in the proposition of the Veto; and that at all events they cannot stand exculpated by the circumstances of the case, of indiscretion and impropriety in having concealed their negotiations from the bodies for whom they at that moment were acting 9. That Dr. Milner's subsequent retraction arose probably from his apprehension of the opposition which was likely to be given by the Irish pre-

controversy; but its influence upon Catholic politics, the check which it gave to the natural progress of their cause, the fatal animosities which it generated, the difficulty with which they were finally subdued, are sufficient apologies for its introduction.

In the year 1808 Lord Fingal was intrusted with the management of the petition, and with whatever communications might become necessary with our friends and advocates in either house of parliament; he had scarcely arrived when he was invited to a conference with Mr. Ponsonby, and subsequently with other distinguished supporters of the Catholic cause. These conferences afterwards proved of the most injurious consequence to the Catholic community. Whether from inadvertence, or zeal, or injudicious submission to the opinions of parliamentary advisers, Lord Fingal appears precipitately to have consented to the proposition of a

lacy and laity; and that this opposition was grounded in great measure on the rejection of their petition, notwithstanding the large offers which had just accompanied it. 10. That the Veto controversy was subsequently kept up by the wounded vanity, servility, and jealousies, of individuals, and did not finally cease until it was at last extinguished by the dissolution of the Board, and the subsequent apathy of the Roman Catholics.—*Plowden's History of Ireland, &c.* vol. iii. pp. 677—695. 833—876.

measure for which certainly he had no adequate or specific authority from the body itself. Mr. Grattan presented the petition to the House of Commons on the 25th May, and in the course of his speech observed, that he was empowered to make a proposition to the house on the part of the petitioners, which would remove all danger that might be apprehended from the admission of Catholics into the constitution, and would fully establish the moral and political integrity of the whole British empire. It was a proposal to allow the crown a direct negative interference, should the prayer of the petitioners be granted, in the future appointment of their bishops. Mr. Ponsonby went still further and stated, "that he was authorised to say that the Catholic clergy were willing, in the event of the measure before the house being acceded to, that the appointment of every Catholic bishop in Ireland should in future finally vest in the King."—The speech of Lord Grenville in the Lords, on the 27th of the same month, was still more minute and explicit. He went into the history of the measure, and gave it to be understood, "that it was part of the system (the provision for the clergy was another) which was in contemplation at the time of the Union."—These proffers were, however, unavailing.

Mr. Perceval, the then Premier, scornfully rejected them ; and the motion for taking the petitions into consideration was lost by large majorities in both houses.

But this was a very minor portion of the disasters which this fatal proposition soon entailed upon the Roman Catholics. The morning after the debate, May 26, Dr. Milner, the agent of the Catholic bishops of Ireland, published a protest against the use which had been made of his name in the debate of the preceding evening. In Ireland the feeling of public reprobation was still stronger. The moment the reports of the parliamentary debates arrived, there was a general burst of indignation throughout the country. The public mind was thrown into the utmost agitation. The laity revolted at the idea of the ministers of their religion becoming exposed to the corruption of the minister.* The

* “ And if the superior power were always in a disposition to act conscientiously in this matter for those with whom that power is at variance, has it the capacity and means of doing this? How can the lord lieutenant form the least idea of their merits, so as to discern which of the Popish clergy is fit to be made a bishop? It cannot be; the idea is ridiculous. He will hand them over to lords lieutenants, governors of counties, justices of peace, and other persons, who, for the purpose of vexing and turning to derision this

clergy were roused by a common impulse to the assertion of their spiritual independence. On the 14th and 15th of May a national synod was summoned. It passed a condemnatory resolution of the late proposition, signed by twenty-three prelates, three only of the entire body (originally subscribers to the resolutions of 1799) having dissented. This impression was ardently seconded by the people. The address attempted to be got up to Lord Fingal, and designed more to sanction the measure than to exculpate that nobleman from the share which he had taken in the late proceedings, did not obtain more than fifty signatures, of whom forty-six afterwards retracted. On the other side the addresses of thanks to the bishops were signed by not less than forty thousand persons. The resolutions of Louth followed. Ulster, with the exception of a single individual, was unanimous. Munster and Connaught, with few dissentients, concurred in the same opinion. This demonstration of public opinion produced its effect. In the

miserable people, will pick out the worst and most obnoxious they can find amongst the clergy to sit over the rest. Informers, talebearers, perverse and obstinate men, flatterers, who turn their backs upon their flocks to court the Protestant gentlemen of the country, will be the objects of preferment."—*Burke's Works*, vol. vi. p. 290.

petition intended to have been presented in 1809, all mention of Veto was cautiously avoided. In 1810 the bishops again met in synod, and passed resolutions still more clear and decisive. They were intended to be final; and accordingly form the great point of reference in all the subsequent discussions. The General Committee then sitting seconded and supported these resolutions, and returned the bishops thanks in a meeting assembled at D'Arcy's, on the 2nd of March, without a division or even a debate. In the same year the petition of the Catholics was again presented to both houses; and Mr. Grattan, in compliance with his instructions, explicitly declared to the House of Commons, that the Catholics had refused all concurrence and assent to the securities which he had originally suggested in 1808. Such declaration of the unalterable resolution of the clergy and laity of Ireland ought to have quenched all further discussion. But this controversy, like all others which had preceded it, was used chiefly as an instrument for the gratification of private jealousies, and the infliction of private wrongs. The great mass of the people had unequivocally pronounced against the proposition; and the bishops had directed or followed (it is not quite clear which) the opinion and decision of the people. This perhaps was

an additional motive with the aristocracy to persevere in their dissent. Few of their body joined their voices with those of the large mass of their country : they made common cause with Lord Fingal, in whose person they considered themselves insulted, and for many years afterwards were still found in concurrence with the old party of the English Catholics (from whom all these differences had originated), encouraging unfortunately the feud which had so long counteracted the energies and deeply injured the best interests of the country.

But these discussions were on the point of being soon interrupted, not indeed by the returning spirit of union and good feeling, but by a power which hitherto had been little apprehended by the Roman Catholics. Their discussions and dissensions had for some time back attracted the attention of government. Though little in connexion as yet with the people, the Catholic Committee even then was considered formidable. The Committee of 1809 had been constituted with great care and caution. The discussions at that period on the Convention act had suggested the necessity of avoiding any appearance of delegation, though by an express clause it was provided, " that nothing therein contained should prevent the right of his Ma-

Majesty's subjects to petition his Majesty or the parliament." In the last resolutions of the meeting from which the Catholic Committee had originated, this clause is especially referred to : but, as if anticipating the jealousy of government, the same resolution declared, " that the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof." This salutary precaution was however forgotten in the meeting which took place at the Farming Repository in the following July. A considerable alteration was adopted. The last resolution appoints a committee to be composed of the thirty-six members for Dublin, and ten gentlemen from each county in Ireland. This committee was embodied for the purpose of drawing up an address to the King, a remonstrance to the British nation, and a petition to parliament, to be presented at the beginning of the next session. It was still imagined by this specific statement of the purposes for which it was formed, that it would stand within the limits of the law, and thus preclude the possibility of any interference on the part of government. But the Catholics had calculated without much knowledge of the motives or characters of those

men with whom they had to deal. The attack was directed, not against any infringement of the law, but against the existence of the Committee itself.

The Convention act, passed in 1793, had been originally framed by Lord Clare with a view to break up the organization of the United Irishmen. It had now lain dormant for eighteen years, and the Catholics had been permitted without interruption by every successive administration during that period, to collect and express the will of their body in the manner most agreeable to themselves. Their internal differences did not interfere with the public tranquillity, and had hitherto been rather a source of gratification than uneasiness to that party whose policy it was to divide and weaken their body. But under the Richmond administration, their proceedings were watched with a much stricter scrutiny. It was at length determined to strike a blow which should be decisive. By suppressing the General Committee, it was imagined that with its suppression all discussion must likewise cease. A proclamation, or to speak more correctly, a circular letter, dated Dublin Castle, Feb. 12, 1811, was directed by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, the then Irish secretary, to every sheriff and magistrate throughout Ireland, requiring them, in pursu-

ance of the Act 33, c. 9, of the king, to arrest all persons connected either actively or passively in the late elections for members or delegates to the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland. This was the first trial now for many years of the strength and temper of the Catholics. They had not yet come into direct collision with the government. The first encounter was unsuccessful.

But such violent measures were then easy, and success produced no great moral or political result. It might naturally be imagined that a new penal law, like that of the Convention Act, could not so easily accomplish what the penal code in all its ancient entireness had in vain attempted to effect. What it did accomplish was not worth the effort. It produced nothing permanent. It was the wisdom of Xerxes, attempting with iron fetters to chain the sea. The Catholics resisted in the only way then practicable—in their individual capacity: the country was indifferent, and looked on between stupid hope and still more stupid fear. Lord Fingal and several other members of the Committee took their places at a public meeting in defence of the Secretary's proclamation. They were arrested by virtue of a warrant from Chief Justice Downes, and gave bail. The question of the right of delegation

for the purposes of petition was thus brought into court, and solemnly submitted to the adjudication of a jury. It was a great and important question, involving considerations of the highest interest to the constitutional rights of the subject. The country pleaded on one side, and the Castle on the other. Juries were packed with more than ordinary profligacy. Quibbles were ransacked from every bad precedent of arbitrary power. Yet all was ineffectual: by a miracle, rare under any government, but almost unheard of in Ireland, the country at last prevailed. Either the law was too clear for even the obsequious commentators of the Castle, or party spirit for a moment conceded its animosities to the assertion of a common franchise. Dr. Sheridan and Mr. Kirwan, the gentlemen who had been put upon their defence, were acquitted by a Dublin verdict, and the question seemed for a moment to be set at rest. But the victor, as is often the case, marred the victory, in the very instant of its acquisition, by his own folly. The verdict of a jury returned to the Catholics their right of delegation, and they had a noble and dignified course to pursue. Triumph, however, the flush and vanity of an unexpected success (pardonable perhaps in men who had been accustomed only to disappointment),

hurried them onward to a new contest and a certain defeat. The counter-prosecutions against the Chief Justice Downes might honourably and easily have been got rid of: a compromise extorted from the fears, or at least sanctioned with the approbation of the ruling powers, would have established the then-unquestioned privileges of the Catholic, and not rashly put at hazard by evil precedent the very highest privileges of the citizen. It was ruled otherwise:—the attack was pushed on with vigour: the existence of the party was involved in the safety of the individual: all constitutional considerations disappeared: the point in struggle was the credit of a faction. What reasonable man, who measures life by living things, and reads facts and not theories, could for an instant doubt of the result? The case was tried a second time in the person of the Chief Justice: judgment was given against the Catholics:—the judgment was intended to be appealed against, but the Catholics lost spirits, and the demurrers were not even argued. Thus the victory which they had at first obtained was reversed. The Committee was scattered, delegation annihilated, and a common liberty sacrificed, by the indiscretion of individuals, to the chicane and corruption of an arrogant and offended party.

CHAP. VI.

Consequences of the proclamation, and dissolution of the Committee—New plan—Fourth General Committee, or Association, under the name of Board—Proceedings of the Catholics—Continuance of the Veto question—Divisions—General secession of the aristocracy—Injurious effects—Gradual languor and apathy—Insignificance of their proceedings—Final dissolution of the Board.

THE disorganised state into which the body was immediately thrown by this arbitrary construction of a very dubious text, for a time affected the proceedings of the Catholics. They soon recovered their stupefaction; the General Committee had indeed separated, and delegation, even for the purposes of petition, been declared highly penal; but the spirit which brought that body originally together, and had given shape and form to these elements when there was much less affinity between them, still survived, and soon built up a new structure from the fragments of the old one. Out of a voluntary assemblage of the former members, deprecating however with the greatest caution every thing which could be construed into a *represen-*

tative character, arose a new association under an altered title, the body remaining virtually the same : the minister had accomplished nothing more than the changing of one appellation for another; the Catholic *Committee* had become the *Catholic Board*.

The Catholics had thus foiled the minister, and would have rapidly foiled, like the minister, all other enemies who opposed them, had it not been for their friends and for themselves. The only obstacles, really such, which they ever had to encounter in their course, proceeded exclusively from the same source : from their enemies they had drawn only strength and courage. But the dissensions, which had been so largely extended on the Veto question in despite of present depression and despondency, continued unsubdued. At a period when all ought to have been union and concord, the hostile political parties employed every means which lay within their reach to sustain the internal conflict. The English Vetoists kept up constant communications with their friends in Ireland. In 1810, a resolution strongly declaratory of their opinions (the joint suggestion of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey) was circulated amongst the body. It was replaced by a resolution, since notorious in English and Irish

Catholic politics, under the name of the Fifth Resolution of the English Catholics. It was inserted in their petition to the legislature, and signed by the great mass of the English Catholic clergy and laity.* The Irish Catholics were extremely divided : the clergy unanimously, and much the majority of the laity, still retained their opposition to the measure ; but the aristocracy for the most part were favourable. During the year 1811, these differences, with slight variations, continued. The dissensions of the body were seized and taken advantage of both by friends and opponents. Their friends in parliament eulogised the measure ; their enemies made it the *sine quâ non* of their emancipation. Grand juries, &c. petitioned in the same sense, and the question became complicated with innumerable difficulties. The situation in which the Pope stood was urged as an additional argument. He was then in the hands of the French Emperor, and presumed to be under the immediate control and direction of our arch enemy. In 1812 and

* The wording of the resolution is very vague, and might appear perfectly innocuous to persons unacquainted with the *animus* which dictated it. The petition was signed by the four apostolic vicars and two coadjutors, eight peers, thirteen baronets, and eight thousand gentlemen, including three hundred clergymen.

1813 the same scene of unavailing discord prevailed. Application was finally made to the Pope, and in his absence and detention in France, Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal Quarantotti, addressed in 1814 his celebrated letter to Dr. Poynter, which, instead of calming, added only new fuel to their dissensions. Every bearing of the measure continued to be argued by Protestants and Catholics, both in and out of parliament, with an acerbity scarcely known in the earliest discussions of the question.

The Anti-vetoists denounced, and the Vetoists seceded; base motives assumed on either side the badges of their respective parties, and personal ambition and individual selfishness, fought under the banners, to which revenge, interest, or the circumstances of the moment had compelled them. The moderate man shrunk into a craven and a slave, and the independent man became a factious and turbulent partisan. The very suspicion of Vetoism was enough to blot the fairest actions, and to render dubious the purest intentions. No compromise—no half measure;—an abjuration total and absolute of the obnoxious principle was alone accepted. The people became intolerant and despotic: reasoning was discarded: flattery was the sure means of wielding them at will: their favourites first conjured

up their passions, then losing the mastery of the fiend, were obliged implicitly and blindly to obey it. The effect on the aristocracy was scarcely less pernicious. Instead of standing manfully at their posts and maintaining their opinions, until they had been put to the test of sound logic and fair experience, and then nobly surrendering them if found inconsistent with public liberty and public good, they crept ingloriously away from the contest, and allowed themselves to be trampled into obscurity by numbers. This was cowardice, indolence; the places they had vacated were soon taken, and they had the mortification to find, that in their private position they commanded no consideration; they were laughed at by one party, sneered at by the other, and despised by both; and they felt the bitterness of having deserved it. They became affected by the opinions which they professed; they grew little, and crawling, and timid; they were the Serviles, the Ultras, the Emigrés of the body. They had also the extreme disadvantage of having to advocate the worst side of the question. There never was any serious intention of listening to the arrangement; it was thrown out merely for purposes of division, and the result did ample justice to the Machiavelian policy of

the proposer.* The true patriotism and the true wisdom at such a period, would have been to have rejected all consideration of the matter *in limine*, without reference to any specific superiority of one mode of arrangement to another : but neither aristocracy nor people then knew the resources which experience and suffering had insensibly treasured up within them.† They wished

* Mr. Burke's opinions were strictly justified by the entire of this negotiation. "If," says he (*in his Letter to Dr. Hussey*), "you have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off one by one. I am sure that the constant meddling of your bishops and clergy with the Castle, and the Castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight which the clergy have hitherto had to keep the people quiet, will be wholly lost if this once should happen. At best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind; and *I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued.*"

† The *Veto* was an old expedient; but never having been fairly tried, both Protestant and Catholic were not well aware of its pernicious efficacy. In Lord Limerick's Registry bill already noticed, an additional clause had been introduced: enacting, "that one priest should be registered for each parish; that the nomination of his successor should be vested in the grand jury, with a *veto* in the privy council, and lord lieutenant," &c. Bishops, by the same bill, were to be banished altogether; and the registered priest compelled, under pain of transportation, and felony of death in case of

to seize by a compendious barter, what ought to have been gained by effort and perseverance. Emancipation seemed immeasurably distant; they sold the future for the present. Above all, there was no apology for disunion: it was

return, to inform against them. This enactment was clear and consistent. It was framed in the *sensu* and with the usual object of a penal statute. The modern proposition purported to be "a conciliatory settlement,"—"an adjustment,"—"a security;" which, in perfect reason, might be demanded on one side and conceded on the other. But the analogies on which this reasoning was founded were by no means exact. The Irish Catholic church stands in a very peculiar predicament. It is paid exclusively by the people. The only reasonable ground on which a government can pretend to such interference, is the concession of temporalities. This was the principle (and a just one in my mind) of the entire resistance which the emperors made to the encroachments of the popes. A sovereign or state granting temporalities, no matter under what form (whether of gibe, tithe, or pension), has a right to be satisfied with the character and conduct of the grantees, or holders of these grants. But it so happens in the Irish Catholic church, that the people, and not the minister, is the grantor. In the people then, and not in the minister, if there be any question on the matter, should this Veto in strict justice reside. It is very true, that a *regium donum* may alter all this; but until such *regium donum* be given and received, the demand or desire of such interference is altogether preposterous. The government seems to have felt this, and rejected wisely both burden and favour from the present bill.

treason—it was blindness—and worse than all, it was very nearly suicide.

The Catholic Board, deserted by “its natural leaders,” as they ostentatiously called themselves, and left to the unmingled and uncontrolled sway of its own vicious free-will, soon sunk into a noisy and discreditable debating club, dwindling away day after day, and at last exhibiting to the contempt of its adversaries, an evidence only of the incorrigible propensity to feud and division which had so long disgraced the Catholic body. The sudden changes in foreign affairs considerably increased this depression. England was no longer awed by the apprehension of foreign invasion. Napoleon had fallen in 1814; and though a momentary gleam of hope seemed to have returned at the period of his escape from Elba, it fled with nearly the same rapidity with which it came. The Catholic Board was now left to itself: with a hostile administration watching jealously all its movements, its forces diminished at home, its enemies augmented abroad, it found itself incapable of maintaining its position. It trailed on for a short period a feeble existence, now and then recalling to the recollection of the public, by the abrupt and impotent violence of its resolutions, some faint traces of its former

importance. Even that too soon passed away. It at last sunk into absolute insignificance, by the gradual secession of its few remaining members, and expired without a struggle, and almost without a blow.

CHAP. VII.

Universal inertness of the Catholic body—Causes thereof—Difficulty of sustaining public excitement—Arrival of the King—His farewell letter—Not acted on—Disappointment—Continued despondency of the Catholics—Means of rousing them—Defects of former plans—How to be remedied—Union of all parties—New plan projected by Mr. O'Connell, aided by Mr. Sheil—Difficulties to encounter : surmounted—Establishment of the Fifth General Committee, or late Catholic Association—Immediate advantages—Suppression of local outrage—Pacification of the country—Sympathy of all classes—Union of the Aristocracy, Clergy, and People—Measures of the Association—Establishment on an extensive scale of a new Catholic fund.—Rapid progress—Sanguine hopes—Relief bill of 1825—Preliminary and collateral measures—Relief bill and Freehold and Pension bill rejected—The Suppression Association bill, commonly called the Algerine bill—passed—The Association attempted to be suppressed.

ON the dissolution of the Catholic board, every one seemed to have returned to a state of inertia, from which there existed little hope of effectually rousing them in future. The attempt had been made and failed; the experiment was discouraging; the country seemed once more consigned over to irredeemable apathy. Public

opinion in Ireland, and public opinion in England, are not to be measured by the same standard. In England it is, like its civilization, the slow but robust growth of many centuries ; it has risen out of the cool study of great political and commercial questions, out of the slow comparison of their principles with their exemplifications in existing government, out of a tranquil and persevering observation of the influence of both on all classes of society in the neighbouring countries, particularly in France and America, and a keen and often an involuntary application of the common-sense conclusions drawn from such comparison to their own. In Ireland every thing is partial, every thing is momentary, every thing is impulse ; there is no standard, or the standard changes every day. Upon the great middle layer of English society no question falls without leaving its lasting impression. Upon a corresponding, though by no means a similar class in Ireland, the utmost which can be expected, is a strong but transient sentiment, ruffling for a moment the surface, but then leaving the depths as dead and as sluggish as before. The Irish mind, like the waters of the Mediterranean, is easily roused and easily calmed ; the English, like those of the Atlantic, requires something more than a passing gust of agitation to rouse it from the abyss wherein it had reposed. Once ex-

cited indeed by the force of some enduring public motive, the storm will rage, and the waves prevail; nothing less than the intervention of a god can then allay its wrath, or charm it back into its former repose. In a word, the Irish act on belief, the English on conviction—one *feels*, the other *knows*—reason in general is the guide of one nation, passion of the other, and one impression lasts, and the other passes away. I know not whether, for purposes like the present, such peculiarity in the natural temperament be an advantage or the reverse; but this one assertion may assuredly be hazarded, that its nice and judicious management has always been one of the most difficult tasks in the province of the Irish popular leader. To excite has never been difficult, but to keep the steam up to its original pressure, without risking an explosion on the one side, and on the other avoiding that tendency to relapse into former coolness, incidental to natures so singularly excitable,—has been indeed a problem, which in almost every instance of Irish politics has eluded the intellect and defied the exertion of the most zealous and sagacious patriots. Nor could there be a stronger illustration of this position than the period which is actually before us. It was quite extraordinary, the thick obstruction, the flat and utter lethargy, which in a

moment replaced the former menace and tumult, the high-crested defiance, the unchangeable resolve, the bold action of the body. The component portions of their assembly had flown back to their original situations; the aristocracy, the clergy, the merchant, had all resolved into their respective classes. The very action of their opposite and balanced forces had produced rest; they crouched, and slept; their very friends sickened at the unavailing attempt to raise to a level with other citizens a caste essentially inferior; they gave the task up in despair; a pact of eternal silence was struck; the Whig was to enjoy the cheap reputation of liberality, and the Catholic was not to mar with injudicious complaint the political views or influence of the Whig. The Catholic spirit had totally passed away; the dead body only was left behind.

From this disgraceful state of lethargy the Catholics were momentarily aroused by a very remarkable event. In 1821, the King expressed his gracious intention of visiting Ireland. The intelligence was received by all classes with the most unbounded joy. Such visits had been most rare in the history of that country; and had usually been undertaken with far different feelings and for far different purposes than the diffusion of tranquillity and peace. But little

doubt could in the present instance exist of the beneficent objects of the royal visitor. It was not to be supposed, that he could have been prompted to such a measure by a puerile anxiety to see, for the first time, a remote portion of his kingdom, or a desire to exhibit himself ostentatiously to the admiration of his loyal subjects of Ireland. Catholics and Protestants both agreed to consider it an augury of happier times; the Catholic trusting with his usual precipitation to his own sanguine wishes; the Protestant sagaciously acquiescing in the convictions of the Catholic. An armistice, or suspension of existing hostilities, was readily concluded between both contending parties. The influential men on either side, in accordance with the royal recommendation, sacrificed or repressed all former animosities: reconciliation dinners were given,—and meetings held, in which the Catholic leaders on one side, and the corporation leaders on the other, pledged themselves solemnly to an oblivion of all past differences, and to a union of exertion in future for the benefit and prosperity of their common country.* On the 17th August,

* The fraternal embraces of Mr. O'Connell and Alderman Bradley King are not yet forgotten. They were as vehement and as transitory as most other "eternal pledges" of the kind.

the King entered Dublin amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of all classes of his Irish subjects. No lamentation of grievance, no petition for redress, was heard during the whole period of the royal visit. Every thing looked happiness, harmony, and good order. The Catholics, with a temperance (it has been given a worse name) that was the astonishment of all Europe, refrained from the slightest allusion to their oppressed condition. Mr. O'Connell, Mr. O'Gorman, were the first to proffer, at the head of the Catholics, their unbounded devotion to his gracious Majesty. Every where he was hailed by popular enthusiasm as the extinguisher of faction, the healer of religious discord, the harbinger of future grace, the father of all his people. It is said that these manifestations of affection made a deep impression on the royal heart. He pressed the national symbol to his breast, assured his Irish subjects of his unalterable protection, and left their shores in tears, overpowered by the acclamations of "his faithful people." On his departure, he directed Lord Sidmouth to address them a farewell letter full of the most excellent counsel. But, alas! it recommended impossibilities. It advised peace and union, but the means to effect them were still withheld. The Catholics, in despite of past experience, were for

a long time undeceived. They clung for months afterwards to the wretched illusion. But no change took place—the same men continued in office—the same measures were pursued by the same men. Nothing was done to raise the Catholics—nothing was done to depress their enemies. The Letter was regarded as a mere idle proclamation for temporary purposes. The Protestant laughed at the credulity of the Catholic, and scornfully resumed his ancient ascendancy : the Catholic, ashamed and indignant at the deception, sunk at once into his former lethargy.

These disappointments, but much more the discord which had been bequeathed by the Veto quarrel, and the weakness which ensued on the secession of the aristocracy, kept the Catholics for some time longer altogether sunk in this miserable state of despondency. They felt they had been duped and debased, and the consciousness of their feebleness and degradation closely adhered to them. All meetings ceased; the very voice of complaint was scarcely heard; an universal torpor prevailed; every one seemed to have despaired of his country. It was then, if ever since the first formation of their committees, that the Catholics had attained that perfect state of “temperance and moderation,” which has been so frequently recommended to them by friend

and enemy. Nothing contributed to break it for two entire years: neither petition, nor remonstrance, nor speech, nor assembly of any note, was heard of. The entire body seemed to have relapsed into their ancient sluggishness, and to have surrendered their cause to the arbitration of blind chance, or the choice and convenience of their enemies. It was a wretched and successless policy. Nothing was demanded; and nothing was given. The gentry continued degraded—the people continued oppressed. It was made clear to the capacity of every man that something more than mere passive submission to injury was requisite to work out the liberation of a country. It was made clear that nothing but that prevailing cry which goes up from numbers, bound indissolubly together by the same invisible and invincible chain, the *idem velle*, the *idem nolle*, the *idem sentire de republicâ*, was alone capable of plucking down from the grasp of the ascendancy the rights of an oppressed people. But many days passed before this great work was attempted: it was a strange concurrence of circumstances; it was almost an accident which suggested it.

The grand defect of all previous efforts had been the constant absence of every arrangement which could embrace the people. The manner

in which the committees had been constituted was indeed popular: the members, as we have seen, were directed to be chosen at meetings of the parishes; but this was a mere dead letter: in general the choice was left to the gentry themselves. The people, beyond their occasional attendance at an aggregate meeting, seemed to take little interest in Catholic affairs. Not indeed that they did not fully feel the grievances which oppressed them, but that they attributed those grievances to an erroneous cause: they did not trace the waters of bitterness to their spring;* they feebly attempted to dam out by local resistance the sweeping tides, and sent them only from their own lands to the lands of their neighbours. The people therefore were in the first instance to be instructed in the true nature and the original causes of their wrong; this instruction was to be judiciously communicated;

* “We cannot lower,” says Malthus, with so much truth and beauty, “the waters of misery, by *pressing them down in different places*, which must necessarily make them rise somewhere else; the only way in which we can hope to effect our purpose is, by *drawing them off*.”—Book iv. c. 5. This is not the political economy of Mr. Sadler or his predecessors. Our whole government of Ireland has been nothing else but the pressing down of these waters in different places: we now, for the first time, think it wiser to draw them off.

and the results brought to bear in mass against the common oppressions of the country. A plan which could fully effect this, and at the same time win back the aristocracy, and reconcile them to the pretensions of their former antagonists, the middle classes of the community, had some chance of finally achieving the emancipation of Ireland. But to conceive such a plan, and still more to reduce it from theory into practice, required a mind of very peculiar temperament. It required the ardour of youth, and the sagacity of age; a nature which could delight in obstacle, which could draw strength from opposition, which could triumph over time, and defy delay. It required a man who, feared if not respected by the aristocracy, applauded by the citizens, should be idolised by the people; a man who could touch with the spell most congenial to each, all those adverse and oftentimes conflicting natures. It required the audacious disdain of secondary considerations, the adventurous spirit of a fanatic, the intrepidity of a successful commander, the deep insight into his materials and resources, of an experienced general. It required a man who could view Irish interests through Ireland, who, essentially Irish himself, knew where the national heart really lay, and could bend or drive it to every pur-

pose ; a man, the reflection of the men on whom he had to act : the representative of their feelings, the organ of their desires, the speaker of their passions, and the reckless flatterer at times of their prejudices, with an eloquence, not of the schools only, but of the fields, not for one class, but for all,—a man doing what he recommended, and completing in the tedious details of the committee, what he had impetuously and often imperiously carried in the debate. Such a man, happily for the freedom and safety of the country, existed ; he had the fortune to conceive, and the resolution to execute : the Catholic Association arose before him.

But the resurrection of this body, which called so soon together, as in the vision of the prophet, the scattered bones of the former association—a body strange, portentous, powerful, with sway which might be turned with the same facility to blessings and to curses, was not so suddenly accomplished. The spirits were indeed called up from the vasty deep ; but they did not so soon obey the bidding when they *were* so called. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil met by accident in the year 1823 at the house of a common friend in the mountains of Wicklow ; and after mutually lamenting the degraded and torpid state of their Catholic countrymen, agreed to

sign an address, and inclose it without delay to the most influential gentlemen of their body. This was the first foundation of the late Association. The summons was at first treated by some with scorn, with indignation by others, with neglect by all. Men, who a few months after were the most zealous partisans of the new measures, then looked with derision on the fruitless effort, as they deemed it, of an appeal to a people who had testified, in a manner to be mistaken by none but an enthusiast, their perfect indifference to the question. A few newspaper rencontres succeeded : the old war of recrimination recommenced ; it attracted the public attention ; it excited the public feeling : an interest was created, and from that moment every thing was success. The first seeds of the Catholic Association were scarcely perceptible ; ten or twenty individuals met in a retired room at Dempsey's tavern in Sackville Street, and resolved boldly to commence. The nucleus was formed, it increased ; every day presented an accession of new and enthusiastic members. It was thus that the first assemblies of the body had been gathered ; but there was no comparison between the progress of the Associations of 1760 and 1823. The previous history of the body, the experience of past struggle and past

success, gave them courage, and gave them strength. A very perceptible improvement had taken place during the long interval which had elapsed from the decay and final dissolution of the Board. New habits with new facilities of thinking had grown up : the people were ripening fast for the share which they were to bear in the new confederacy. When such a number of individuals, principally residents of Dublin, could be brought together as might justify the assumption of public functions, rules and regulations for the guidance of the body were framed and adopted. They bore little analogy in detail, and not much in spirit, to those which in former periods had been in use. The verdict in the case of Downes precluded all delegation ; all former plans were therefore impracticable : a new principle, that of an open club, without canvas or ballot, the members admissible on the *viva voce* proposition of a friend, and the subscription of one pound, was adopted. The body so constituted soon rose from a small deliberative assembly to a grand confederacy, extending its arms round all Ireland. The objects to be attained, the means to which the projector was limited, the temper of the country, the nature of the struggle upon which they were about to enter, suggested and

justified these very material alterations. The success has fully triumphed over every objection (and in detail there were very many); nor will any one be so unreasonable as fastidiously to reprobate the important advantages of such a political lever, because it may not have been the most perfect which political ingenuity could have devised. On such occasions it is the duty of a good man, and the wisdom of a prudent one, to remember the answer of Solon to the stranger, and to console himself with the reflection, that if not the best which could be imagined, it was the very best which the times and the men with whom he had to deal would allow of.

In the interval between the dissolution of the Board and the revival of the Association, the people had been left to themselves, to their own sense of grievance, and to their own mode of redress. The consequences were such as again and again have followed from the same causes in the history of Irish sufferings. Outrages, excesses of the usual character of crime, desolated the South, and particularly portions of the county Limerick. The county was rich, and the gentry resident; the inhabitants are amongst the poorest and the most oppressed in Ireland. A local tyranny, arising indeed out of the general misrule, produced a local insurrection. It re-

quired the outstretched arm of military law and express penal statute to quell it. The same symptoms of the same malady evinced themselves, with the same virulence, and the same resistance to every attempt at cure, in various other districts. The government had to begin again and again ; the disease was not expelled, but chased only through various parts of the system. The Association first applied a new secret of healing ; that wonderful power of sympathy with the sufferer, of fellow-interest in the grievance, of earnest co-operation in the search after the redress, which raised it into a sort of Areopagus in a few months between governors and governed in Ireland. The outrage and the crime diminished ; the insurrection passed away ; a few words of friendly advice did more than statutes or armies to restore tranquillity.

The Association gained daily in strength : it soon embraced all classes in the roll of its members. The aristocracy had forgotten the feud with the individuals who had originated it : many of them had left the scene, many were preparing to leave it ; a new race, unaffected by their fears or their dislikes, had succeeded them ; and every motive which proud and honourable men could have was ready to impel them forward. Lord Killeen, the son of the Earl of Fingal, appeared

at the meetings, and brought with him the accession of high rank, sound views, and a lofty spirit of independence, not very usual amongst the Catholic peerage. He was followed by Lord Gormanstown, premier viscount, who, sacrificing his early prepossessions against the manner in which the cause had hitherto been conducted, consented to give every co-operation to the exertions and principles of Mr. O'Connell. Lord Kenmare, unwilling or unable to appear personally, contributed to the same measures the sanction of his purse and name. Behind them came the almost entire body of the gentry, and deposed on the altar of the public good every recollection of their ancient differences. The clergy too had sent in from time to time their adhesion : Maynooth began to be felt ; Irishmen who had never left Ireland were the priests, whom it sent forth ; and though in some instances the proprieties and decencies of their ecclesiastical station considerably lost, the country gained on the whole by the infusion of a more popular spirit amongst the body. They had long felt that they were far more dependant on their flocks than their flocks were upon them ; and though in the outset of a popular movement they were enabled to control, the decision once taken, they often had no choice

but to follow. The recruits therefore, from the second order of the clergy, were numerous beyond precedent; and in proportion as they attached themselves to the new Association, they advocated its principles and executed its measures, not merely with the fidelity of a tried friend, but with the zeal and enthusiasm of a proselyte.

It was now time to invite the people to a fuller participation in their own affairs. The county and parish meetings had done little: they had been summoned at long intervals, with great difficulty, and terminated with resolutions in no connexion with each other, and of little consequence in the result. Whenever indeed a real effort was made, the effort was successful; where the hand touched, the spark was emitted; but there was no charging of the whole machine; the mass of the country was chill and dead. An admirable expedient soon offered itself—suggested indeed, like the Association itself, by former experiment and success. The contributions of the one-pound subscribers were sufficient for the ordinary purposes of petition, &c.; but the views of the Association enlarged with the enlargement of the body itself. Attack was varied, was multiplied, on every point of the enemy's camp. Every collateral topic (and

midst numberless aberrations from sound policy and good sense there was much wisdom in such discussions) was suddenly taken up. The feeling of the people was awakened. They saw, in their own words, "that something was to be done for *them* also." It was not a cold question of distant and doubtful advantage; the readmission of the peerage or the gentry to the privileges of their order; the extension of legal honours and emoluments to the Catholic barrister: but it was the strong and home assurance which every peasant soon had of instant protection against local wrong, the redress of the law against the law, the assisting hand in distress from a body in which he found the interpreter of his own sufferings, and the conviction that whilst others still sought their emancipation, his emancipation had already begun. Every complaint was listened to; every injury was inquired into; protection was promised, and the promises made good with a precision and promptitude which they failed not to contrast with the slovenly and reluctant justice of his Majesty. The decision of the bench was almost second to the debate of the Association; the village magistrate detested but feared it; the village peasant appealed to it, and obeyed it. A fourth estate rose up in the kingdom, as powerful in

many instances as the other three.* This confidence once given, every thing else was easy ;

* See the very remarkable admissions from all parties, of this extensive and singular influence, in the Report of the Inquiry into the State of Ireland ; particularly the evidence of the Rev. Henry Cooke, a Presbyterian minister ; I. Godley, Esq. ; Major Warburton, a police magistrate, &c. “I think,” says Major Warburton, “in one of my letters I stated distinctly, that I did not conceive *any system of government* could be more *complete* in carrying on communication from heads to inferiors ; I thought it a most complete organization for that purpose.” In another portion of his evidence he observes, “that the Catholic Association had produced *a union* more than any other event in Catholic affairs ; that this union had been materially increased by the *rent*,” &c. He then notices the principle and influence of this union upon the various classes of which the Catholic body was composed. “The *Catholic Association produced the tranquillity of the country in combination with the clergy* : it was done for a purpose in order to show *they had influence* ; that is, the value of the Catholic Association, and the power of the priesthood. The Catholic Association gave the priests a much *greater* control than they *otherwise* possessed ;—the *people were aware they were in communication with the Association*.” This union, “the perfection and extent of this organization,” he considered “as one of the chief causes of the danger to be apprehended from the Catholic Association.” Mr. Godley goes higher, and touches on the causes which produced both. “The Catholic Association and the Catholic clergy can at any time agitate the popular mind, when they have a *good cause*, and are *discontented* ; they are discontented under the *present laws*,

for “the Irish are indeed a tractable nation, and though they have often resisted chains of iron, they may easily be conducted by a kindly hand with a silken thread.” It was necessary to support these efforts for their liberation: the people knew it, and came forward spontaneously with their offerings. The moment was propi-

and *ignorance* and *poverty* are assistants. The causes are, distinctions in the law: no Catholic Association could have existed unless such *distinctions* existed *previously*.” Mr. Cooke dwells upon the *dangers* resulting from this influence, and suggests the means of neutralising and *extinguishing* it. “There is a class,” says he, “in Ireland who, seeing the misery of the country, wish to reform it. They consider the people as so much water converted into steam in a steam-boiler; and such a body as the Catholic Association as persons keeping up the fire; they consider them as aided in the work by the priests, and they view the whole of the machinery as returning an abundant revenue into the hands of those who take the trouble of working it. I think men who take these views consider that a limited admission into office of the leading Catholics would be a kind of safety-valve to this boiler,” (why not destroy it altogether by the admission of all?) “by means of which it would be deprived of the power of creating an explosion, while its real beneficial energies might be employed to the benefit of the state.” The short analysis of all this is—The state of the laws created discontent—discontent, the Association—the Association, union—union, power—power, danger—and danger may end in civil war. The remedy is simple: take away the basis, and the whole superstructure falls.

tious—it was seized. The contribution of a penny per month was proposed by Mr. O'Connell : it was instantly adopted ; every man hurried to cast his mite into the treasury of a body, from which he felt assured it would return to him in tenfold good. Every peasant in Ireland, every Catholic inhabitant, from the child of seven to the grandfather of seventy, was invited to contribute ; and thus arose in a few weeks “ the *Catholic Rent*.”

The name was strange ; the collection at first awkward and ill-organised : the amount fell far below the calculations of the proposers ; but the great point was the principle, and that was fully discovered. The contribution was for *palpable* and *direct* purposes, purposes intelligible to and felt by the entire people : the connexion between the *tax* and the *benefit* was understood ; it was not levied, but offered ; it was voluntary, and not forced. It increased singularly the momentum of that impetus which the Association had now communicated to the entire body. It was not only that positive suffering was removed or that Catholic power was augmented by so large an accession of its funds ; a new means of binding the people in an open and visible fraternity, which extended from one end of Ireland to the other, was obtained. Every farthing paid

added a link to the chain ; the contributors were the creditors, and the creditors were necessarily the partisans of the Association. Every where "the *Rent*" raised a subsidiary association. The "Rent collection" soon settled into a system ; the collectors became the disciplined, as the Rent contributors were the irregular, troops of the Association.* A spirit of keen inquiry, of

* The Rent was first organised in the towns ; it then spread, though slowly, to the neighbouring parishes ; and from thence, by degrees, to the most remote parts of the country. The Collectors at first volunteered ;—formed a committee ;—divided the town into walks for collection—and transmitted their funds, through their secretary, to the Association. As they increased, and improved their system, they enlarged considerably its objects. They took rooms,—held their meetings weekly,—not only received reports of rent and remittances to the Association, &c. ; but discussed every subject of public policy connected with the general question ; and, in most particulars, exhibited a close analogy to the great body with whom they were in relation. In the towns, the consequences were very conspicuous. The Rent proceeded rapidly ; and with it a corresponding passion for political discussion, which pervaded every body and every class of society. The various dinners of charitable societies, trades, &c. soon were made vehicles of this universal passion. It penetrated :—it clung to every thing. The most indifferent action took its colour from the one principle : the most casual conversation invariably terminated in the Catholic question. But the county parishes continued more or less inert. Up to the very eve of the dissolution, the towns

just observation, of untiring watchfulness, was suddenly evoked. There came upon the popular mind a new, a powerful appetite at once. The

generally furnished in a double proportion to the counties. Various alterations and improvements were adopted ;—none with sufficient effect. The Provincial meetings appointed an Inspector, who was empowered to appoint in his turn five Assistants in each county ; each of these Assistants was then required to furnish monthly reports of the state of Rent in his respective district. But the Inspectors either neglected appointing the Assistants, or the Assistants refused to do their duty. Then came the Churchwardens, who certainly very considerably ameliorated the system, and added a new impetus to the collection. But the defects were not yet got rid of. A third mode was finally suggested by Mr. O'Connell far more effective, as far as the augmentation of the public funds was in question, than any of the preceding. He proposed that a Sunday should be set apart in the year, to be called the "Rent Sunday," for the express and sole purpose of this collection. The collection was to be made at the chapel-door ; and the majority of the parish priests, with whose dues it interfered, would, it was hoped, be prevailed on to give their assent. This expedient, however, independent of the encroachment just noticed (for virtually it would have been the contribution of the parish priests), was liable to numerous objections. The chief object of the original measure would have been defeated. It was the day-by-day contribution which made it valuable. The Catholic peasant was taught by it to think *daily* on his grievances. The effect would have been very different had he only been reminded of them once a year. See *Appendix*.

Association engrossed the attention of multitudes. Its proceedings became elevated by the consciousness of its position. It guided the people, and thus raised itself in raising the people. In the short space of two years, what had long defied the anxious exertions of all preceding bodies, was tranquilly accomplished. The "three hands," the three classes, were joined in one. The penal statute was the *force* which clasped them. The entire country formed but one association.

It is difficult to paint to a stranger, it is unnecessary to paint to a witness, the spirit of extraordinary enthusiasm which burst forth at that period throughout all Ireland. It was the beginning of a totally new order of things. The right path to emancipation was discerned. Every one went down zealously and fearlessly into it; they girt themselves up to the work with the most solemn and cheering convictions in their hearts. The days of 1782 seemed returning with a brighter radiance on the nation; but wiser far than the volunteers, their descendants determined to retrieve the errors of their fathers, and to emancipate, not by halves, but totally and permanently, and for all the people.. ..

This singular state of things had now lasted for two years, under the very eyes of that same

government which had fondly imagined to scatter the body into its original fragments by the unadvised proclamation of its Irish secretary. But a wiser and more amicable feeling had succeeded to the “*Thorough*” system* of their predecessors, and a rational apprehension of inevitable consequences, acting with more energy than the naked love of justice, disposed the legislature to a more patient and practical view of their claims. But the habit of considering the question, from the first discussion in the Imperial Parliament in 1805, in connexion with what were so inaptly termed Securities, rendered almost hopeless the introduction of any bill which would go to the whole length of removing remaining disqualifications, without some offer on the part of the Catholics of an equivalent. Preliminary and collateral measures were proposed. The Association *in limine*, either as a precautionary

* “The cure under God,” says Strafford, (*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 136.) “must be wrought by *one* Esculapius alone; and that, in my weak judgment, is to be effected rather by *corrosives* than *lenitives*: less than *Thorough* will not overcome it; there is a cancerous malignity in it which must be cut forth, which long since rejected all other means; and therefore to God and him I leave it.” This is as good Brunswickism, almost, as any lately published by the Robinsons, the Horners, &c.

arrangement, or as a sacrifice to the offended majesty of Protestant England, was instantly to be suppressed. This done, the two powers, Protestant and Catholic, could meet (it was suggested) on similar, though by no means on equal terms. The Securities were next debated: the Veto (as a satisfactory adjustment was the avowed object of the bill) was of course out of the question. The religious as well as civil interests of the Irish had been too deeply engaged against it. It had been the cause of a feud which had split the entire body. No arrangement connected with such a security could therefore be adopted without exciting the utmost discontent. It would be virtually conceding to one portion of the Catholics a triumph over the other, and thus leaving in existence the seeds of those very divisions which it was professedly its object to suppress. Other arrangements somewhat less objectionable, though scarcely more effectual, were devised. The Catholic clergy were to be paid by the state.* The forty-shilling free-

* That the clergy will be ultimately *pensioned*, is by no means improbable; but there are two great difficulties to contend with: one, the apprehension of recognising a Catholic church in connexion with a Protestant state: the other, the precedent it might be supposed to establish in favour of all other classes of dissenters. The position of the Catholic

holders were to be disfranchised.* The first idea of these two measures was suggested by

clergyman, in the mean time, must every day become more and more difficult. The Catholic, when *free*, will not pay both churches with cheerfulness; and the first indication of such a feeling will probably fall upon his own. If pensioned, I know not whether his position will not be still worse. A host of Catholic Methodists, in the shape of friars, &c. will soon rise up behind him. Men who live easily, gradually settle into comfort, and from comfort into indolence. Comparisons would soon be made, and to the disadvantage of the rich or pensioned clergy, and in favour of the poor. The pensioned clergy would be called, and in time might deserve to be called, the drones—the unpensioned, the bees. The passion for stimulants, for more fervour, more enthusiasm, more fanaticism, would continue. This passion would be cheaply and largely gratified. It would terminate as it has done in England: there would be two clergies—the clergy of the conventicle, and the clergy of the chapel of ease; the clergy of the rich, and the clergy of the poor.

* The forty-shilling freeholder of the year 1825 was not the forty-shilling freeholder of the year 1829. A moral revolt (I am afraid it can scarcely be called a moral revolution) has taken place. In the absence of the stimulant, is it probable the excitation will continue? and if not, to whom is the freeholder ultimately to revert? But this is not the place to argue the question. The forty-shilling freeholder of that day had evinced little claims to consideration. He had continued the serf which the bill of 1793 had found him. The gift then given by the ascendancy was conferred, like the shirt of Nessus, for injury and not for good. It was intended to consolidate more efficiently a power which had

the late inquiry into the state of Ireland ; and as far as the evidence of the most opposite classes,

been founded on the depression of the people,—a power the ascendancy had reason to think lasting, for it had now endured for nearly two centuries. The Catholic strength lay in the independence and energy of the middle classes. The ascendancy knew it: they tried to extinguish their voices in the crowd and clamour of dependents. But the Catholics (it has often been observed) petitioned as anxiously for the same boon. Were they ignorant of their own interests ? or which of the two was in the right ? Events, it is to be hoped, will yet solve the question ; but, in the interval, it may be observed, that legislation, which grounds itself on present considerations only, is childish or pernicious, or both. Men alter every day. Room must be left for the growth of a nation : but for a nation which, from the very circumstance of its being so long stunted, is now likely to spring up to its natural stature, with tenfold rapidity and vigour, the largest room should be allowed. Instead of taking away the franchise because the holder is now unworthy, it would seem a more rational and kinder mode of legislation, to do every thing first in one's power to make the holder worthy of the franchise. This will take time, no doubt, and patience, —much time and much patience ; but had the same reasoning prevailed in other cases, where would our liberties be now ? No lesson is like practice—no man can ever be free, unless he be entrusted with the exercise of freedom. The more frequent and the more constant this exercise is, the more chance of his making a proficiency in the glorious art. It is not now, when every exertion is making to extend the right of election in one country, that we should attempt to restrict it in the other ;—it is not well that what we give

opinions, professions, and characters, concurring with few exceptions in the same conclusions, could be considered as a justifying motive for such important alterations, little doubt can exist that the anxious advocates for relief had very tolerable warranty for the support which they then gave them. But there is a material difference between the advocacy of a minister and the advocacy of an opposition. The Relief bill was thrown out in the Lords; the collateral measures failed with the principal, and, as unnecessary lumber, were cast into the same heap. But the preliminary measure had already passed: the Catholic Association (as far as a statute could effect it) was actually suppressed; and a discussion, which had raised the Catholic mind to a

with the right hand, we should take back with the left. But these considerations are perfectly distinct from inquiry into and correction of abuses. Many and great exist. The pruning knife is every where required. It cannot be applied too generally, or too soon. But let us legislate in such matters not for purposes of sacrifice or concession, but for purposes of reform. From legislation in such a spirit some good might proceed, and the good would probably endure. From the present bill we can expect nothing but the consequences of a hasty barter. As to the opinions or speeches on either side, they are, under the circumstances, of no value. No one can be so blind as not to see for what persons and for what ends they were made.

sudden pitch of exultation — which showed already extended below them the land of promise—which had already placed them in the very reach of their wishes, terminated abruptly not only in disappointment, not only in rejection, not only in peremptory and contumacious refusal of all relaxation, but in adding a new penal law to the old grievance code, and diminishing the means by which its abolition was finally to be accomplished.

CHAP. VIII.

Disappointment and indignation of the Catholics—Public meetings—The Algerine act evaded—The Association, with a slight change of name, continues its sittings—Government declines to interfere—Principle of this forbearance—Advantages resulting from the attempted suppression—Fourteen days' meeting—Provincial meetings—Census of the Catholic population—Important and extensive influence of these measures on the aristocracy, the clergy, and the people—General union and consolidation of Catholic opinion and Catholic strength—General Election of 1826—Election of Waterford—of Louth—of Cavan, &c.—Remarkable effect upon Catholics and Protestants—Simultaneous meetings—Petition to Parliament—Rejection of the petition.

THE indignation of the Catholics at this result was extreme. They attributed it to the worst of treasons ; and, galled by the sense of having been duped as well as injured, poured forth, with a blind and unmeasured license, their vituperation on the authors and supporters of the obnoxious measure. The sharers even in the rejected bills were not spared. The People saw in every thing connected with these proceedings a portion only of the oppressive plot into which

they had so unworthily been betrayed. The "Algerine Act" (an epithet perhaps more emphatic than appropriate) was contemptuously applied to the Suppression bill, and the designation soon became the opprobrious synonyme of every thing most hostile to the rights and interests of Catholic Ireland. All who attempted to palliate the proposed alterations were fiercely denounced; they were regarded with the suspicious eye of abused confidence, and shunned, like the Vetoists who had preceded them, in all the political transactions of the body, as the dupes or tools of a deceitful and implacable faction. The meetings which followed throughout all Ireland, were strongly characteristic of this highly-inflamed state of the public feeling. Even the popularity of recognised leadership was obscured by its breath; and it was not until the most ample abjuration had been made by Mr. O'Connell, in atonement for his presumed share in the conspiracy, that he was allowed to resume his former ascendancy over the body. In all this a great deal of the sincere spirit of public virtue unquestionably mingled, and the people exercised nothing more than their undoubted right in appealing against their disfranchisement. The clergy naturally felt objections to the acceptance of a bounty for the performance of

Catholic duties from a Protestant church : but it would have been well also, had they begotten somewhat more of temperance in the whirlwind of their indignation, and recollected, that not only was it possible that such sacrifices had been made with pure intentions, but that they themselves had been virtual parties by their silence and acquiescence to every condition of either bill. They had been intended as peace-offerings for a great good ; had the price been faithfully paid, nothing more would probably have been said of the barter. It was the failure of the negotiation which threw a slur on the negotiators. Emancipation would have redeemed a host of errors and sins. A liberated nation thinks only of enjoying—it is late before it inquires into the mode of its liberation.*

* The theory has been proved by facts. All opposition to the Disfranchising bill has failed. The country has not been taken by ignorance or by surprise. The experience of Waterford, Louth, and Clare, was before them. Their leaders have summoned—have protested—have petitioned ; and have summoned, protested, and petitioned, in vain. With the opportunity offered them they have remained silent—acquiescent ; and in some instances, they have approved. What is the cause of this phenomenon ?—Has the franchise become a burden ? Does the freeholder apprehend he shall be called on again for so perilous an assertion of his right of choice—(doubly perilous without an

Let it not be supposed, however, that this is to stand as a justification of the manner in which these matters were conducted. The nation relied far too implicitly on the discretion of individuals. These individuals in their turn relied far too implicitly on their influence over the nation. The letters which were then received from the heads of the deputation in London demanded unlimited confidence and tranquillity on the part of the Catholics: the obnoxious measures, as in the instance of the Veto, were concealed until they were actually before parliament. This might have been good policy in a minister of the crown, but it was not very popular or very just in a leader of the people.

But the evil which had been done was still to be repaired; and it was not by recriminations amongst fellow-labourers in the same cause, nor by quarrels between fellow-captives in the same dungeon, that they could finally hope to burst their prison door, and approve themselves worthy of their liberation. They still exclaimed against the deputation; they still rejected all

Association to protect him)? or does he believe that he must revert as of old to the landed aristocrat, and is careless of a privilege, which the nature of Irish property must for a long time continue to convert, more or less, into the disgraceful duties of a serf or a slave?

apology; they still deemed error in a leader (and with some reason) as much a crime as corruption or deceit. But their indignation was soon gratified by this ebullition, and the anger passed away; they soon returned in the sorrowful sobriety of oppressed men, to rid themselves of this new burden. An act of parliament, however subtle, is but a feeble barrier against the subtlety of a sufferer. The statute was examined in its various bearings: it presented numerous absurdities, numerous incoherencies, numerous omissions. Much more precise legislation under the old code had been gradually and silently undermined or swept away. The Algerine act was vague: it seemed intended only as a *pro formâ* measure; it was calculated not for operation but display: by the help of a few technicalities it was rendered a dead letter, like so many of its predecessors; people laughed at the flaxen bonds which had been employed to bind them, changed the name of the Association, kept within the strict limits of the law, talked a little about education, &c. and continued their meetings precisely as before. All this was sufficiently disgraceful to the existing government; it showed the nation that ministers could not devise sufficient means, or had not sufficient courage to employ them if devised,

for the purpose of putting down the Association; it implied ignorance, or timidity, or insincerity, or infirmity of purpose. The latter was probably the true case: the bill of Relief and Grace had been rejected, and they did not like to insist on a bill of Penalties and Pains. The Association not only went on with the same confidence in its intrinsic strength as before, but borrowed from the late attempt a new proof that nothing could extinguish it but justice or brute force. They measured their resources with a far cooler judgment than their antagonists: they profited by every mistake; they grew strong by every blow. They attacked the monopoly, but respected the law—dashed the coarse weapon of physical resistance from the hand of the people, but gave them the staff and guide of moral influence instead. The very errors of their opponents were treasured up, and turned in due season to account. The Suppression bill limited the meetings of the old Association for the purpose of petitioning to fourteen days. The object was to restrict—it enlarged: a Fourteen days' meeting was instantly proposed. It brought together what had not been accomplished by all the former weekly meetings in the metropolis. A large concourse of gentlemen and clergy flocked in from the country, and thus superadded a new assembly, in the character of a convention, to

the ordinary meetings of the Association. The rights of Protestant and miscellaneous societies had been respected by the act ; education and other associations had been spared. In Ireland Catholic grievance was a Proteus ; it took the shape of education, charity, agriculture, commerce, amusement ; whatever was Irish was more or less Catholic, more or less Protestant ; whatever was social or civil was more or less infected by the sour taint of the general oppression.* Under this masked battery, then, of education, charity, &c. with the all-saving clause “ for all purposes not prohibited by law ” in front, every shaft was levelled, and every complaint uttered, which could have been permitted in the open field of the old Association. There

* A French gentleman on a visit to Ireland observed with some truth, “ Il y a en chaque salon deux partis : un parti droit et un parti gauche ; une quadrille pour, et une quadrille contre.” But it was not often that the opposing quadrilles could so closely approach each other. Society lately in Ireland was based, like Mr. Sadler’s English constitution, on “ the social and free ” principle of exclusion. Balls, dinners, dances, and dresses, like bridges and hotels, and for aught I know rivers, were divided into Popish or Protestant. Lord Mount Cashel very lately requested the interference of His Majesty’s Home Secretary to prevent a “ Popish bridge ” being erected at Youghall. Is his Lordship’s idea of a Protestant constitution at all analogous to his idea of a Popish bridge ?

was another object still in view, rendered now more necessary by the late disappointment. The very disposition to fall back, noticed in a former part of this sketch as the prominent defect in the Irish character, required a commensurate effort to sustain to its level the original excitation. Every expedient was to be attempted ; next to disunion, nothing could prove so fatal to such a cause as indifference. Indifference in politics as in love, is far more insurmountable than decided hostility. An enemy is nearer to conversion than a neutral. This was the secret, and as events have proved, this was also the wisdom of constant agitation. The ferment was to be rendered regular, the tumult habitual : it was to be always on the increase ; always susceptible of higher pressure ; always menacing more ; always in appearance at a crisis, but with a still stronger crisis behind it. Events and men well fitted for such purposes presented themselves every day ; the *fremebunda quies* was studied, was taught, was perfectly well understood. Agitation was gradually organised. The limitation of their Association meetings to fourteen days seemed to restrict the rights of discussion and petition, though, practically considered, it very much improved and enlarged them. This plea or pretext was

instantly seized for the purposes of additional agitation. It was made good ground for the convening of a new species of assembly, the Provincial Meetings. Each province of Ireland was summoned by requisition; the Catholics invited their Protestant friends; both met on an appointed day, in a town chosen in rotation, in one or other of the counties of the province. They generally remained sitting for two days, and dined together on the second or the third. The result was most important. It was not only another convention, like that of the Fourteen days' meeting, but it was a convention of Catholics and Protestants.* It familiarised both sects with each other. It brought together two qualities of intellect and feeling, both diverse, but both admirably well suited to their respective positions. It gave an opportunity to every man of knowing his neighbour: it inspired mutual confidence and mutual respect. The people also incalculably benefited. It was not only a spectacle of great and stirring interest (and

* All sects indeed were indiscriminately admissible to the Catholic Association; and this constituted a very striking difference between it and all the former committees, &c. &c. of the body. But little advantage was taken of this permission for a considerable period. Few or no Protestants at first attended.

the Irish possess to a remarkable degree this southern distinctive, a passion for show and public display), but it was really a series of impressive political lectures on their grievances and their rights, which left behind them thoughts which burnt for many months afterwards in the hearts of the peasantry, gave them a visible and sensible connexion with the leading class of their countrymen, and taught them, that upon the co-operation and union of all orders depended mainly the chance which all orders might have of a future restoration to their rights.

The Provincial meeting thus travelled round the entire province in four or five years, and each town and each succeeding year vied in the numbers it could assemble, in the magnificence of its preparations, in the boldness of its resolutions, in the spirit which it generated, with its predecessors. Men whose names had long been familiar through the public prints to the ear of their fellow-countrymen thus became personally known one after the other to them all; the leaders grew really such; and the Association, viewed through such a medium, had an influence (what power is stronger than such an influence?) scarcely equalled by the government itself. Another benefit still more conspicuous immediately resulted from these assemblages :

the clergy of the entire neighbourhood assisted : the people saw with their own eyes a junction, which made little impression as long as it was casual or distant ; they saw the priest honoured by and honouring the layman ; they saw him seated on the same bench, supporting the same propositions, expressing the same sentiments, concurring in the same appeal, and invoking in the same tone the same spirit of constitutional regeneration. The lesson of Christian liberality—of charity to all men—of order—of tranquillity—of unabating obedience, in the midst of provocation to the guardian genius of the laws, had been preached in public and in private by the Association ; but the eloquence of the demagogue came mended from the tongue of the ecclesiastic, and fell with a more persuasive force upon the willing attention of the people. A sort of religious sanction was thus communicated imperceptibly to a cause, which to those not immediately engaged in its promotion appeared purely and altogether political : the very principle upon which the exclusion had originally been founded was religious : the persecution was religious ; and the late crude efforts at proselytism by the opposite church had enhanced not a little this conviction in the mind of a large mass of the population, that the whole struggle

was religious. But the general abstinence of the Catholic clergy from all political deliberations of a public nature had hitherto very much neutralised the force of such feelings. A great many of the clergy still retained the indistinct and shadowy recollection rather than the body and reality of their former fears ; and affected too by a sense of the decencies of their order, and thinking that the still small voice of reason, and the slow dropping of the stream of time, were better calculated to win the reluctant and to wear away the obstinate, than the broad and bold complaint and the hurried march of assembled multitudes, very constantly refused every inducement to add their voices to the voices of the people. The Catholic Rent in the first instance, the Provincial meetings in the second, roused them from this apathy. But both these measures, it must also be observed, fell upon dispositions which had been already prepared. The Catholic priesthood had not been allowed to indulge in quiet their habitual tendencies. They had long been accustomed to the cruel invective and the ribbald taunt of their political oppressors, and had retired further within the sanctuary to avoid as much as possible a collision, in which even a victory would have been a disgrace. But a new species of warfare had just

commenced, in which, omitting all personal attack on the individual, and softening down the sectarian hostility against a rival creed with the specious name of universal charity, the weapon was directed against the religion and not against its professors, and the triumph was sought not over the priesthood but over the church. In a word, the New Reformation put forth its quack pretensions, and promised to protestantise Ireland, and render emancipation superfluous in the space of a few years.* The labourers in this vineyard began valiantly, but threw aside their spades before noon. There is no short way to the mind of a nation ; and they quickly found that it was easier to invent a new name than to change an old creed. The bubble burst ; the joint-stock company dispersed ; the defaulters escaped : saintship fell to a grievous discount : a few sufferers railed and wept at the swindling transaction ; and the rest of the nation who had avoided the scrape, shook their heads and laughed openly at the imposture. Such was, *sans phrase*, the “right merrie and conceited adventure” of these spiritual Quixotes, — but its influence (an influence they had little calculated on) remained behind. The first chal-

* See Lord Roden’s speech in the Lords, 1828.

lenges and the first insults to the Catholic clergy were not heard, or if heard were not regarded; they were renewed; the pertinacity attracted notice, the importunity succeeded: the gauntlet was at length taken up, and both parties closed. A new and somewhat fantastic spirit of polemical chivalry then burst up in the country; every dogma was made good plea for battle; every meeting was converted into a joust; every paper opened lists for the combatants. The dragon teeth of controversy seemed to have been sown every where; disputants rushed up on every side like armed men. The immediate consequences of these encounters were perhaps injurious, and certainly disagreeable; but they left behind them some salutary fruits. The Catholic clergy had been roused to a spirit of combination by the necessities of self-defence. Their repugnance to public exhibition was overcome; they stepped out beyond the modesty of their habitual functions into the activity of public life; they began to feel the usual excitements of such scenes, to acknowledge the *gaudia certaminis* of such a warfare: the church became gradually militant, and the weak inventions of the enemy recoiled in front and in flank upon themselves. The priesthood no longer refused co-operation in every expedient of constitutional annoyance;

they seized with alacrity every opportunity of legitimate attack : they joined every meeting, they seconded every proposition, they lent their aid to the execution of every project, which the laity had judged at all likely to gall or defeat their common foe. In the organised power of the Association they already saw a tower of strength, a citadel of defence ; they flocked in under its protection from every side, and lent in return for its cordial support, wherever they were scattered through the country, the earnest contribution of their local influence and power. Another circumstance connected with the preceding, came in aid of the revolution which has just been described. The miracles of the itinerant apostles of the New Reformation were not very numerous ; the conversions were momentary ; the relapses frequent, absolute, and sudden. A more systematic, blockade kind of warfare, co-operating with these light Cossack incursions, was found to be requisite. A mitigated charter-school sort of education, under the patronage of the Kildare Place Society, was planned ; but the first steps of this charitable body were of a very different description indeed from the hot and irregular skirmishing of the New Reformers. They were as meek as doves, and as prudent as serpents. They

did not denounce, they only condemned ; they did not force, they merely seduced. Their schools were opened with the large and liberal generosity of universal Christians ; the cornucopia of literary instruction was poured out with a benignant and equal hand ; they professed to come as the announcers of good tidings unto all men : they professed to be neither Protestants nor Catholics, but Irishmen : they professed to teach, not sectarianism, but morality ; and they invited their fellow-citizens of every denomination to come and receive wisdom from their lips, for the happiness and salvation of their common country. Such appeals have seldom failed in Ireland : there is a slattern good-nature about the Irish character, which predisposes them to embrace first and to examine afterwards. Catholics for a moment joined with Protestants : new fraternizations, as singular as those of the French revolutionists, took place every day ; persons every way the most opposite in their opinions and character were seen ludicrously jostling each other in their hurry to the good work : men who had never met before, and are not likely so soon to meet again, were found seated at the same committee board, devising sublime changes, organising magnificent revolutions, for the instantaneous getting up of a new manufac-

ture of intellect in the country. Purses were opened, schools grew from every heath, Lady Bountifuls swarmed in every village, and a new era of whitewashing and plenty, of primer-reading and bread-eating, seemed already to have dawned. But the plot at last exploded, and the Catholic found how much he had been made an instrument in the hands of a wily foe. The schools they had set up in many places were imperceptibly converted into sectarian decoys, and the introduction of "the Bible without note or comment" amongst them, was the overt announcement of the long-matured plan. The priests took the alarm, and a new crusade instantly commenced. A person coming at that moment into the country would have been alternately grieved and amused by the tragi-comic conflict. A flock was dragged one way and then dragged another, into this fold and then into that: education was set up against education, school against school, teacher against teacher; and the whole intellect of the country was made the prize for contending hosts. The war raged long and loudly, and in some places the spiritual brought the fleshly arm to its aid. Teachers were sometimes burnt out of their schools by nightly marauders; flourishing Kildare Place colonies were in a moment annihi-

lated by a single anathema from the Popish altar : every man took part in the insurrection ; children were withdrawn from the hostile establishments, and were forced by their parents to give up their reading and writing, rather than run the risk of reading or writing “ in the wrong way.” * Yet all this was of the greatest

* The reading of the Bible (the Revelations for instance, or the Song of Solomon) may be intelligible and edifying to every class of readers ; or it may not. But that is not the question. The point to which the Irish objected was, the being forced or mystified into this sort of lecture. This was mere human nature. The Sabbatarians resisted the “ Book of Sports,” which commanded them to amuse themselves, with as much pertinacity as if it had been a penal statute. “ It was sport for them to refrain from sport,” says the historian, “ for mankind love sport as little as prayer by compulsion.”—But thus it was : the best measures, in the diseased state of Irish politics, very often became the worst ; whatever was poured into that poisoned chalice soured instantly into poison. The Catholic reasoned naturally if not justly ; he could not conceive it possible, that the same men who were so anxious to exclude him from all enjoyment of the rights of a citizen, could really feel much anxiety about his education or his soul. They came with bad credentials before him ; they spoke in the morning of “ persuasion,” and “ their poor countrymen,” and “ the true way,” and of “ education,” and “ the Bible,” as the only remedies for the evils of Ireland ; and at their Orange orgies at night they admitted that they had had no other means of persuasion than exclusion ; no other remedy

utility. It created rivalry; it broke up the coarse clods; it turned the fallow soil into cultivation; and made the ignorant and the idle for once look home. The priest saw that he lived in a day when instruction could not be refused; the only point with him was, how it should be best given, and in his own defence he established Catholic schools. The cause of education became identified with the cause of emancipation. It formed a principal object in the collection of "the Rent." A benefit so tangible, so immediate, instantly kindled corresponding exertion. In many parishes the priest, however reluctant he was supposed to be to sanction any division of the religious charities of his parishioners, was frequently found to be the most earnest in contributing to the Association fund. He regarded it as a treasury for the promoting the local as well as public advantage of the body, and expected to see it return in its due season in the building of his school or the

for these evils than the true Protestant remedy of their forefathers, the "*Jubet cum saignereri atque resaigneri*" of Moliere. Thus the Spaniards preached the love of their neighbours to the Indians:—are we to be surprised that the Catholics answered them like the Indians, and that such preachers with such an audience should have toiled in vain?

repairs of his ruined church. He thus became *personally* and *constantly* interested in the voluntary levy, and once adopting with this tender of his purse the politics and views of the Association, grew a champion in its cause, a zealous preacher of its opinions, an extender of its organization, and in time the principal channel by which its influences were communicated to the remotest parts of the land.

It cannot be denied that the priesthood, though they may have lost in some particulars, in others gained materially by this active union. The doctrines of passive obedience, once so popular in the Irish Catholic church,* and in so

* Religious Toryism, if so it may be called, is the taint of almost all churches. Misfortune did not eradicate it from the Catholic church of Ireland. The frequent necessity of propitiating the reigning power with the phrases of slavery, made the persons who employed them at last slaves. Add to this—the spirit of Stuart partizanship, to which the Irish Catholic was compelled, gave new value to these Stuart doctrines. They made by necessity first a part of their practice; then a part of their political creed. But the church of England had not the same apology for an almost equal degree of servility. The bishops in the reign of James I. and Charles I. studiously inculcated the doctrine, “that resistance to the commands of rulers in every conceivable instance is a heinous sin.” This doctrine is laid down in the homily against “Wilful Disobedience and Rebellion.” In another “On Obedience,” the same duty of

many other churches on the continent, have altogether disappeared from the political creed of the modern ecclesiastic. No disciple of Locke or Blackstone can now speak with more fervent conviction of the great principles of civil and religious freedom than the Irish Catholic priest.* A revolution, not less miraculous than

nonresistance, even in defence of *religion*, is very shamelessly maintained. In the reign of Charles I. Mainwaring and Sibthorpe openly asserted, "that the king might take the subject's money at *his pleasure*, and that no one might refuse his demand on penalty of *damnation*." "Parliaments," says Mainwaring more distinctly, "were not ordained to contribute any right to the king, but for the more equal imposing and the more easy exacting of that which unto *kings doth appertain* by *natural* and *original* law and justice, as their proper inheritance annexed to their imperial crowns from their birth." All this "loathsome divinity" was indeed the creation of abject men and perilous circumstances; but it was not confined to the Williams, and Neiles, and other sycophants of Buckingham. It became ingrained into the political faith of the Established church (see the disgraceful declaration of Oxford), until the aggressions of a Popish king suggested a new theory: then the practice varied from the doctrine; and as in the late instance of the Catholic priesthood against all the "laws of the schools," human nature reasserted its right.

* Contrast the high constitutional principles of Dr. Doyle with the high Tory principles of Dr. D'Anglade and Dr. De la Hogue. They were the passive obedience men, the Sibthorpes and Mainwarings of Maynooth.

that which occurred amongst the peasantry, spread upwards through every order of the clergy. The rights of conscience were solemnly placed beyond all human interference in his new profession of faith: the sanguinary usurpations of inquisitorial power, under whatever form they had appeared, were anathematised: the encroachments of the spiritual power on the civil, were not less reprobated than the encroachments of the civil on the spiritual: the just limits of both prerogatives were defined; the duties of constitutional opposition to oppression were inculcated: the priest felt the citizen growing up within him, and cast off altogether the habitual stoop which had so long been the disgraceful distinctive of his order: he mingled in the communion of his brother men like a man; felt as indignantly and spoke as proudly of his sufferings and his rights as any other Roman citizen. The time was thoroughly gone by when silence was loyalty, and courtesy public virtue.* Men could not be silent in

* “If a man will make courtesy and say nothing, he is virtuous.”—*Shakspeare, Hen. IV.* The negro slaves of some of the Spanish settlements, after having been whipt during the day, are obliged to thank God in the evening for having blessed them with such masters!

such times if they would, and they would not be silent even if they could.*

Of these elements, brought originally together by the Catholic rent, and compressed more strongly into the same mass by the external force of the New Reformation and the Kildare Place schools, were chiefly composed the Provincial meetings. In a great metropolis such assemblies fill only with their effects the paragraph of the morning, or the conversation of the evening, and then die away before some other wonder of the

* Some of these opinions a few years earlier would have been considered political heresies by the entire body; some are still considered such by a few of the older priests. There are Eldons in every party; in every question men who pique themselves on being the last to be convinced. But the immense majority of the present priesthood are fresh and young both in mind and body. They started into life when every thing about them was in agitation; they passed through a course of education necessarily democratic, from the situation in which every Catholic more or less has been placed. Many of them born in the class immediately above the peasant, share all his passions; in contact with the upper classes by their daily functions, they share their judgment and understanding also. Such a being, when brought into action by events, must be very powerful. Accordingly the Catholic priesthood has displayed a union of energy and discretion in the late transactions rare in the clergy of any country, but until this moment, altogether unknown amongst the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

hour. But in the country, such an event is an epoch which fills a great portion of the peasant's existence; it is the hope of his entire family for months before, and the boast for months after: the speeches are read and re-read with the utmost assiduity, learned by heart, discussed, and cited, with an earnestness and sympathy unintelligible to a mere citizen.

The day and town in which the gathering was to take place were often contested with anxiety. It was a matter of local, almost of personal pride, to exhibit, under the most striking forms, the pretensions, the wealth, the intelligence, the enthusiasm, of the favoured county. The first Provincial meeting was held at Limerick. It was distinguished by a very numerous body of Protestant guests, who contributed their efforts, and rather too visibly their patronage, to the exertions of their Catholic countrymen. It is difficult to throw off the semblances of superiority and assumption, even when much of the reality has passed away. They condescended; they advised; they encouraged; they approved of: they had the appearance of masters who had consented generously to the manumission of their slaves. There were some indications of enthusiasm amongst the people, but they were much dulled by the still-existing divisions on the

subject of the late rejected bills. The "Wings," as they were termed, were still argued in every public meeting with an earnestness and animosity which too strongly reminded one of the old quarrels of the Veto. The subsequent assemblies held at Waterford, Cork, and above all, at Clonmel, were of a far different complexion. There the Catholic stood with the Protestant side by side, worthy of equality, and owning no distinction but what had been interposed by the artificial distinctions of the laws. But great events had taken place in the interval, which brought out on the surface of the national mind, qualities of which even the possessors had appeared ignorant. The Provincial meetings were either preparations for, or celebrations of these triumphs.* The meeting which was held for instance at Waterford immediately followed the great popular revolution to which we shall presently have to advert. It took place in the month of August, while the public heart was still burning with the exultation, and heaving with the throes of the late unparalleled victory. For

* It was at the Provincial meeting of Connaught, in 1828, that the Catholics first ceased to invite the Protestants as guests to their meetings. There were good reasons for the alteration. It placed both parties at their ease: the consequences were important.

weeks before, the requisitions of the several counties of Munster had been filled up. The honour of the convention had been conferred unanimously on Waterford; the first days of the week were employed in making the necessary arrangements for the public meeting: the committees every hour increased by new accessions from the most remote parts of the province; the Kerry, the Clare, the Limerick attendants (they might almost be called deputies), came clustering in. The meeting was held the third day in the Catholic church of the city. It is one of the most imposing Catholic structures in Ireland. The whole of the great area of the building was densely crowded with the population from the country. Immediately before the altar rose the platform, on which were assembled Catholic and Protestant indiscriminately around the chair. It was a glorious morning—and the spirit of the people in full unison with the joyousness of the season, and still fresh with the late triumph, burst forth in a tumult of enthusiasm, which soon spread its contagion to the most indifferent heart in that vast assembly. Several speeches had been heard with more than ordinary marks of approbation; when Mr. O'Connell at last appeared on the platform. It is not easy to forget the acclamations which followed

his magnificent harangue. It is on such occasions that Mr. O'Connell is truly eloquent: but on this occasion he far exceeded himself. There broke out a clamour of joy which had no words, but escaped in rude gestures from every man below him, when appealing in bold and awful language to the young blood of Ireland on the one side, and to the infatuated government of the country on the other, he threw himself as a mediator between both, and implored them, ere another generation, rushing impetuously into the ranks of present men, should render negotiation as in America impossible, to rouse from their slumber in haste, to extend the hand ere it was too late, and to save, rather than to have to rescue, through carnage, perhaps, and conflagration, their common country. The idea in itself was noble; but from his hand and eye and tongue, it came with the effect of a sudden and appalling prophecy. The resolutions were in tone with this remarkable speech, and were received with approbation scarcely less enthusiastic. The dinner which took place the same day was honoured by a name of high and deserved lustre in England, but sacred to the recollections of Irishmen by claims of a far dearer import. Lord Fitzwilliam had now been absent from Ireland since the memorable and fatal

period of his recall : his presence that day appeared almost providential. He seemed to have been brought back by a just Heaven, to assist at a national triumph over the downfall of a public enemy. The family by whose intrigues, Ireland had been deprived of his services, was laid in the dust. It was a rare instance of visible retribution, and typical of the changes which in a few years more were to be consummated, on a far more extended scale, for the benefit of the entire country. That great assemblage dispersed as it had met in perfect order ; and in a few days nothing remained to mark its way but the instruction and example it had left behind it. The meeting of the same province, which took place two years after at Clonmel, was not less characteristic. It followed events very similar to those which had lately been celebrated at Waterford. The whole town presented the aspect of a continued triumph. Green branches covered every wall ; festoons, arches, trophies, appeared in every street. There were in the town during the meeting not less than fifty thousand peasants collected from the neighbouring counties. They presented all the externals, not of a loose and riotous rabble, but of a well-ordered, well-disciplined levy *en masse* from the mountains around. Their costume was green calico,

—green branches borne in every hand, green cockades fixed in every hat, gave them, at first sight, the appearance of a national army. During the meeting, which continued for three days, they were observed till late in the evening, and sometimes during a great portion of the night, in full military array, with their respective bands of music, and headed by their officers, parading about through every part of the town. At the signal given they regularly retired, and for the most part bivouacked in the open street. But during all that time, not a single instance of outrage, scarcely a symptom of intoxication, was visible. Their very gaiety was sober; their enthusiasm was restricted within the bounds of the most perfect propriety; and were it not for the wild eyes, and the quick gesture, and the turbulent features, of the crowds through which you had to pass, it would be difficult indeed to imagine that you stood in the midst of the too celebrated “men of Tipperary.”

Such was the nature and combination of the powers which the Provincial meetings found prepared before them. Every class soon fell into the rank-and-file discipline of a peaceable constitutional organization. Every meeting added new perfection to the manœuvre, new facility to the habit: it became soon as much a matter of course,

as the call of the local militia in England at the period of the apprehended invasion, but with this great difference, that the difficulty was in restraining, not in rousing them to such a call. The Association thus journeyed through almost every part of Ireland; it was seen, heard, and felt, periodically by the entire people: the "Government," as it was called, was every where; and every man fancied himself a part of the government.

In conjunction with the "Catholic Rent" and the annual "meetings of the Provinces," another measure not less calculated to appeal forcibly to the sympathies and understanding of the Catholic community, was soon after adopted. The Catholic prelacy of Ireland were requested by the Association to allow the clergy under their charge to commence, with as much expedition as might be practicable, the great work of a "National Census."* To Mr. Sheil, whose

* Nothing is more illustrative of the total distortion of apparently the most indifferent facts, arising out of the *guerre civile* which every where reigned between the two parties, than this perpetual perversion of the census and statistics of Ireland. Sir William Petty states the population in 1672 to have amounted to 1,100,000; of these 800,000 were Catholics, and 300,000 Protestants: this harmonises with the proportion of property then in the hands of the Catholics.—*Survey*, p. 30. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 28, gives the population in 1731 at 2,100,220; of these 700,454

name is so intimately identified with the entire progress and success of the Catholic cause, is

were Protestants, and 1,309,768 were Catholics. This surpasses the census of the established clergy in the same year by 90,000. Dr. Maude, who follows in 1733, lowers it to 2,000,000, and considerably diminishes the proportion of Protestants. He states the Protestants at 600,000, and the Catholics at 1,400,000. It was the interest of Dr. Maude to lower the number of Protestants; he was a great supporter of the charter-schools, &c. and it was deemed useful *then*, to prove that the Church was in danger from the *increasing* number of the Papists. Primate Boulter writes in the same sense, and in his letter, Feb. 15, 1728, a few years earlier, exaggerates far more considerably the Catholic population; he makes the proportion of Catholics to Protestants to be about five to one: they bear a proportion not much higher at present. The same spirit appears still more glaringly in his extravagant statement of the number of Popish priests. In the same letter he swells them up to 3000. In the report of the committee of the House of Lords in 1731, appointed to consider of the state of Popery in the kingdom, the number is stated to have amounted to not more than 1445. But the object of these intentional mistatements is sufficiently evident: see his Letter of *May 5, 1730*. The first sentence is a key to the whole. “The *great number of Papists in this kingdom*, and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what may be done with their children to bring them near to our church.” It was the interest and the fashion of the ascendancy of that day (the reverse of this), to add to the numbers of the Papists by every mistatement in their power. The Papist from a similar principle depreciated; but, unfortunately, for many years he had melancholy experience on his side to justify his statements.

due the merit of this important suggestion. It was important in many senses of the word. The

The Protestant population doubled in the period between 1672 and 1727; the Catholic was nearly stationary; but this is easily to be accounted for; epidemics were frequent during all that interval amongst the lower classes, the great bulk of whom were of course Roman Catholics. A very remarkable change has however taken place since the years 1776 and 1778. The repeal of the prohibitory statutes on the purchase and leasing of land, materially augmented the Catholic population. Compare the depressed state of Ireland in Primate Boulter's *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 178. 224. 230. 236, 237. 240, in 1727, with its prosperity immediately after the treaty of Limerick, and its growing improvement ever since the first concessions. From that period down to the present day, the Catholic has been uniformly gaining on the Protestant population. From a review of the several estimates of the population of Ireland from Sir W. Petty's Survey in 1672, to the census of 55 Geo. III. c. 120. in 1821, it would appear, that notwithstanding all drawbacks, arising from civil war, emigration, and almost periodical epidemics, the population of Ireland doubles every sixty-five years. This will of course affect the increase of the Catholic population in a far greater ratio than the Protestant, exclusive of every allowance for absenteeism, emigration, &c. See *Mr. Seymour's Speech* on the emigration in the last year from the North of Ireland. It is not very easy, however, to rely upon such evidence. The general tendency is unquestionably not to diminish, but to exaggerate the number of the Protestants. We hear of the 400,000 Protestants capable of bearing arms, the 500,000 signatures to Protestant petitions, &c. Even Mr. Shaw Mason, in his

statistics of Ireland, and especially that portion of them which regards its population, like every

Parochial Survey (1814), has inadvertently fallen into a similar error. He has taken various reports from various parishes of the four provinces, and adding Protestants together and Catholics together, has concluded, that the proportion between these totals so found, is a good average representation of the proportion of the sects throughout the whole kingdom. The mistake has been, in not taking at the same time the relation of the parishes to the total population of the province, by which only the proportion stated to exist between the different sects could at all have approximated the reality. It may be questioned, on similar grounds, whether the census of the Catholic clergy *pro tanto* is of any material importance. If the census of all the parishes had been completed nearly within the same period, and on a uniform and scientific plan, much less apprehension of its inaccuracy might have been entertained. Party excitation and party objects of course obscured a little the clear vision of inquiry on such occasions; but the chief deficiency is in the system, and the mode in which it was carried into effect. Not more than 273 parishes out of 1000 (for the Catholic parishes are more numerous than the Protestant) had been reported from the commencement of the New Association up to the 14th June, 1828; that is, not much more than one-fifth of the whole. This did not include the parishes of the great towns. The census of one parish only in Dublin had been taken. These returns gave the following result:—

In Connaught, 284,354 Catholics.— $21\frac{3}{4}$ Catholics to every non-Catholic.

In Munster, 839,708 Catholics. 39,047 non-Catholics.— $21\frac{1}{2}$ Catholics to every non-Catholic.

thing else Irish, had been a subject of constant and very factious controversy. These inquiries were conducted not with a view to ascertain whether the gross population of the island had diminished or increased (though legislation had proceeded, for many years past, with a *subvultus* kind of movement, altogether regardless or ignorant of this very necessary information), but which of the two armies had gained the greater number of recruits, which of the two nations had most augmented, the Catholic or Protestant, during the past year. The question had become a mere matter of party ; when it served to flatter a patron or to rouse a mob, very little scruple was felt in adding or subtracting as might best suit the purpose. This principle was the *animus* which had more or less originated and regulated every recent census in Ireland : in concurrence with other circumstances, such as the repugnance of the clergy to interfere in such matters (the result of the penal laws), and the belief of the people that such inquiries were connected with fiscal purposes, it rendered every report subject to the most serious question. They

In Leinster, 438,026 Catholics. 40,985 non-Catholics.—

11 Catholics to every non-Catholic.

In Ulster, 177,516 Catholics. 80,657 non-Catholics.—

2 Catholics to every non-Catholic.

were very veering, very partial, very strongly tinged with the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi*, and for the most part at total variance with every probable theory of population. It does not appear that Mr. Sheil carried his views so far into general politics. It was not yet the time for such speculations; nor was he at all provided with such accurate machinery as could ensure him a just result. The Catholic clergy to whom the census was entrusted, however conscientious, were sometimes ignorant and seldom exempt, it is to be supposed, from the usual influences of a party. The moral eye, like the physical, contracts obliquities by the habits to which it is exposed. The Catholic clergyman had never been suffered by the laws to be other than a partisan. Another difficulty to be encountered was, the impossibility of obtaining a *simultaneous* return, and the fluctuation and consequent incorrectness to which all ex-parte reports must of necessity be subject. But this is but a very partial view of the policy of Mr. Sheil. He had employed the instrument for a far different purpose. He used it as a powerful lever for the promotion of the cause. He wished to place habitually before the mind of the priest and of the peasant, of the Protestant and of the Catholic, the flagrant disparity between the two sects, particu-

larly in the South. He wished to give a visible proof of the iniquity of a system which required so large a sacrifice of the happiness of the many, to the luxury and monopoly of the few. This was done effectually ; and new facts came in every week, at the meetings of the Association, vouching an extreme discordancy between the former statements of the ascendancy, and the new statement of things as they were. Every week, one or other of the clergy of the different dioceses sent in their report : they were immediately read, entered on the minutes of the Association, published, and preserved.* But no effort was made to obtain speedily a more general view. It was rather an object to interpose delay. It was useful that these means of agitation amongst others should not be too speedily exhausted. The whole end was then to excite ; organization was left for after consideration ; and for purposes of excitation no better means could possibly have been devised. It was a concise and simple statement of wrong, attested under the immediate hands of their clergy. In these reports, every singular anomaly arising out of the

* In the discharge of this duty Dr. Kelly, Catholic bishop of Waterford, particularly distinguished himself. He was the first prelate to begin, and the only one I believe fully to complete, his portion of the census.

perverted state of the laws was studiously put forward. Whole parishes were stated to exist, where it was not possible to meet a single Protestant : rich rectorships were discovered without a single parishioner : teachers were mentioned to have been paid out of lavish parliamentary grants, who had not a single scholar : churches were allowed to fall to ruin by their opulent incumbents, that they might be rebuilt by a starving people, while within a few miles distance, flocks of thousands might be found with no other chapel, than a thatched hovel to shelter them from the visitation of the elements : these and many other contrasts of all kinds between what ought to be and what was, now successively pressed upon the public attention ;* grievance

* Major Warburton, in his evidence before the House, makes an interesting statement, which sufficiently coincides with the reports of the Census, and will give some idea of the exciting nature of these returns. He observes that in the arch-diocese of Tuam, the state of the Catholic congregations and churches is most wretched. They are mostly thatched, and totally insufficient to contain the people. In many instances the public prayers are celebrated in the open air ; and for the most part the congregation remains on the outside, in consequence of the want of accommodation within. There are no funds for the building and repairing of churches in the arch-diocese, except the voluntary contributions of the people, of the clergy, the bishops, and the aid which they

became a matter not of loose invective, but of figures, and calculation. Each man's local

occasionally receive from the generosity of the neighbouring Protestant gentry. The lower class are particularly gratified with the repairs of their chapels, and willingly contribute their labour, straw, &c. An assessment is generally made by the people themselves, by the heads of villages, &c. The clergy appoint a committee of these heads and a treasurer, who receives the assessment, and expends it under the eyes of the people, but there are no means of enforcing it, except by refusing religious rites, and particularly churching. The general average expense of these country chapels is from 700*l.* to 800*l.* In the richer parts of the country, edifices of considerable magnitude, such as the Catholic churches of Kilkenny, Dungarvan, &c. have of late been erected, but the funds for these buildings have generally been raised, at least in great part, elsewhere. Now turn to the Protestant churches. "The greatest hardship," says another witness, "is, that the Catholic is called upon to build and repair churches, where that building is totally unnecessary, as it is in a great number of instances in the South: in the county of Kerry for example, I know parishes where churches have been built for a single individual or two. I know many instances, and there is one going on at this moment in the parish of Taghadoe in the county of Kildare; there is but a single Protestant in the parish, a Mr. Grierson. They are building a church there, that I understand will cost about 1000*l.* *The Catholics offered to build a dwelling-house for Mr. Grierson.*" This is one amongst the many instances with which Ireland abounds. Colonel Curry states, that "the great grievance was not the collection of the rates, but their misapplication;" the money is often given

experience was called into action : every man contributed something from his own knowledge and sufferings, to the heavy sum. Foreign na-

to some contractor, who does the work ill, and has no inspector to control him ; “ in fact, he takes the contract *to do* the work, and he does *not do it*.” “ The assessment is generally in the hands of a few Protestants ; they fix the rate, and may give it to some one Protestant *as a job*, and the work is often extremely *ill* done, or not *done at all*.” But with these admissions, it may be a matter of some surprise, why such expensive and unnecessary applications of the poor man’s money should be permitted to exist. “ A small congregation,” I apprehend, says another witness, “ always appeared *wherever there was a church built*.” But “ this small congregation,” within the personal knowledge of many Catholics, was often imported from the neighbouring parish as a plea or pretext for building the church. The parishioners were made for the church, not the church made for the parishioners. Such facts as these, and many more of a similar nature connected with education, &c. formed the accompaniments of this census ; but it was rendered much more ample subsequently by the collateral assistance of the churchwardens. It would be well worth the trouble to compare the census given by the clergy with the reports of these churchwardens. The latter extended to the state of the elective franchise, state of proselytism, &c. in each parish. They form, as far as they go, a very instructive record of Catholic grievance and Catholic strength ; but they are both very incomplete.—The Census is given in the *Appendix*.—The Churchwardens’ Reports, if published, would fill many volumes.

tions became interested in the statement, and commented with great justice and energy on the conclusions to which it necessarily gave rise. A sympathy more positive and minute for Catholic suffering, was created in France and America, the important consequences of which we shall have to notice later : the cause of Ireland became in some measure the cause of all Europe. Her question assumed importance in the eyes of every civilised nation : it was pleaded before all mankind : many of these advantages arose out of the Census. Till the period of its introduction, the details of Catholic grievance and Catholic strength were comparatively unknown.

Such was the moral preparation of the Catholic portion of the nation for the great events which were so soon to follow. They were not the exploits of a day, or the sudden consequences of an impulse to which the Catholic mind had inadvertently been forced, but the results of a great system of political education, which had been going on with astonishing rapidity, under the auspices of the Catholic Association. Had they not occurred then, they would have occurred later ; the germ was in the popular mind, and under some form or other it would soon have developed itself : it could not have much longer brooked

either opposition or delay. To England, unacquainted as she was with previous and preparatory events, every thing appeared a marvel and an anomaly. Englishmen had nothing in their own government or in their own habits to explain it. The explosion burst upon them before they had the time or opportunity of examining the train. Nor were the anti-Catholics in Ireland much less astonished than their high Tory allies in the sister country. The little communication between Catholic and Protestant ; the distance at which the main mass of the two interests were situated, the Protestants to the North, the Catholics to the South ; the habitual contempt with which the Protestants regarded the contentions and declamations of the Catholics, rendered the Protestant Ascendancy, as is the case with all ascendancies, inattentive, ignorant, and incredulous. They treated their combinations with the same scorn with which they would have regarded the momentary collection of a crowd. They termed their union “ a rope of sand ;” they laughed at attempts which had so often before terminated in discomfiture ; they sat down in security amidst the threats and attacks of “ a mere mob.” But the circumstances which now took place in a moment dissipated this illusion. In an instant the alarms of their whole

body were excited, and the exertions which were made on every side were sufficient evidence how deeply and sensibly they felt their danger. But it was too late : the blow had been struck. From that day forth the anti-Catholics lost, in one way or other, the secret of their strength ; thenceforward nothing was heard in the anti-Catholic camp, but bitterness and vexation at defeats which followed each other with astonishing rapidity, murmurs of changes, projects of desertion and recrimination and invective against recent apostacy.* Power had gone

* The conversion of Mr. Brownlow, but far more the undaunted avowal of this conversion, ought no doubt to have been a warning. But there are none so blind as those who do not wish to see. The Ascendancy railed like children at the unexpected desertion, and expended themselves in vain injuries on the man, while true politicians would have been engaged in inquiring into the causes and motives of the change. It was indeed a sign of the times, and hailed as such, with enthusiasm by every Catholic. Such sacrifices, made in such a manner, are not ordinary events. They mark the first turning of the tide in the mind of a nation, the first decisive change, after which all is progress and success. Mr. Brownlow's own account of this moral revolution in his own nature, might well stand the type or expression of that general but less conspicuous revolution which at the same time was going on in the intellect of the whole country. There never was a more difficult battle, or a nobler triumph. It is one of those few things which redeem from the impeachment of

out from the Ascendancy, and her retiring gods, like the guardian genii of Alexandria when the city was on the eve of falling into the hands of the enemy, were heard passing away in rebuke and lament under the earth. From a quarter the least suspected came the assault. The Englishman who remembered the contumelies flung by friend and foe upon the degraded freeholders in 1825, could not believe it possible, that from a source so corrupted could arise any hope or aid in the great struggle for Catholic liberty. The same causes,—the same vices in the nature of the tenure, the same tyranny in the landlord, the same depression and debasement in the tenant,—were still supposed to exist. This reasoning under ordinary circumstances would have been just; and the contradictions, which it met with afterwards in the conduct of the freeholders, might well be assimilated to a miracle. But there was a very qualifying circumstance indeed, altogether omitted in this

general turpitude, and convenient traffic of principle and opinion, the great mass of political life. Head of a party, with hereditary claims justified by personal merit to their attachment and respect, he sacrifices all, and all in an instant, to the overpowering mastery of truth. The sacrifice was great, but the reward was still greater. Such a man deserved to see “the salvation of his country.”

calculation. The freeholder had during the last two years been habituated to a course of previous moral training, and the subject of his wrongs had been brought down by the measures of the Association, to the door of the poorest peasant in the land. The Catholic leader saw nothing in the result, but the very natural consequences of a judicious plan. The mind of the people was ripe, and the fruits naturally followed. At the same time it must be admitted, that neither then, nor at a still later period, was there any thing like a preconcerted *whole*, in the contemplation either of the leaders, or the body which they affected to govern. Most of these measures were the children of circumstance; they were created by the moment, and were pursued from necessity. For a considerable time, the only general principle had in view was a very simple one, constantly increasing constitutional agitation: *Mobilitate viget* was the motto of the Association; whatever was in accord with this principle was right; whatever was opposed to it, was wrong. Every effort was used to sustain it; every circumstance was seized to aid these efforts. This was the secret of their entire policy; this they conceived to be the indispensable and certain means of obtaining redress. The events to which we are about to

advert, are a very accurate illustration of this position. The immediate causes which produced them had no connexion whatever with the proceedings of the Association. They neither arose out of its suggestion nor were much advanced by its assistance. They are exclusively to be attributed to a most favourable and unexpected concurrence of circumstances in the first instance ; and in the second, to the inherent spirit of the people itself. This spirit indeed had been engendered by the Association, but it shone forth without waiting for its appeal.

It was in the county of Waterford that the revolution commenced. A circumstance insignificant in itself, was the spark which set fire to the train. The Marquess of Wellesley had been publicly assaulted in the theatre, and addresses had been prepared, and presented on his escape. The insult to the exalted individual and the high office which he filled, required and justified these expressions of public indignation ; but too much emphasis was given to the matter, and party spirit even then ran high. Waterford was not backward ; a requisition numerous and respectably signed, praying that a county meeting might without delay be convened, was presented in the ordinary form to the High Sheriff. The High Sheriff, unfortunately for himself and

his party, was then at Curraghmore, the seat of the Marquess of Waterford. With the counsel, if not by the direction of the Marquess, he peremptorily refused the prayer of the requisitionists. The other magistrates of the county were then applied to. Several magistrates, and amongst them twelve Protestants, stepped forward. The gratitude of the Catholics was as usual exaggerated; subsequent circumstances proved that it was not in all instances very well bestowed. But the individuals were forgotten in the object immediately in view; for the moment, every consideration was sacrificed to the cause. A public dinner, expressive of the approbation of the Catholics, was given to the "twelve honest Protestant magistrates." This dinner was the seed of all the after events. Every circumstance connected with the rejection of their requisition had now transpired, and the house of Curraghmore, the hereditary opponent of the Catholics, was denounced in language which soon found an echo in every heart. The general Election was fast approaching; it was deemed a favourable opportunity of visiting them for the first time with the fullest expression of Catholic indignation. Before the party broke up, a meeting was called for the purpose of devising the

best measures for securing in future the popular representation of the county.

The county of Waterford had now for more than seventy years been represented by the Beresfords. Nothing could more strongly mark the perfect degradation of the Catholics. Here was a constituency nearly in the proportion of forty-one Catholics to every Protestant, and a candidate openly avowing on the hustings, election after election, his undisguised hostility to their rightful claims. In England, such a perfect and continued discordancy between the electors and the elected could not possibly have endured. The matter in Ireland hardly excited attention, much less reproach. The long continuance of the penal laws had rendered it natural. The franchise had been conceded by the aristocracy in 1793 for the single use of the aristocracy ; the Catholic freeholders had, up to that moment, fully justified the sagacity of their masters. But in the county of Waterford other circumstances had combined to keep the people in a state of depression. They had to contend against a power which had been a match for all Ireland. The Beresfords had far exceeded, in patronage and influence, all the other families of the Undertakers. Through them, and by

them, the English cabinet had long carried on its misrule, and, ignorant or careless, this absentee government, like all other absentees, surrendered up the wretched farm to the spoliation and oppression of these resident middlemen. A Beresford banished Lord Fitzwilliam, and left the country a prey to those civil contentions which terminated at last in a rebellion, the traces of which are still festering in the recollections of all classes of Irishmen. The Union indeed had reduced within straiter limits the stretching ambition of the family, and Ireland was gradually withdrawn, department after department, from its grasp. But the bad influences which emanated from them still remained undiminished in the county of Waterford. Not a place of any consideration which had not been its gift ; not a situation which was not within its patronage : it held the fortunes, and was supposed to hold the will, of a large portion of the population, in its leash. The representative of the family (the late Marquess of Waterford) was a kindly instrument for the administration of such powers. Politically speaking, he had many prejudices, but few animosities ; * was

* The Marquess of Waterford (then Lord Tyrone) intro-

haughty by habit, rather than inclination ; had good intentions, stifled by weak health ; and acted less in his own character, than as the necessary organ of family and party interests. His brother, Lord George Beresford, was the actual member. He had some merit in the eyes of the Catholics. He had succeeded to his relative John Claudius. He was never accused of any political talent ; was an exceedingly friendly and kind man in social life, and had he been permitted to indulge his own predilections, would probably have preferred any other occupation to the *dura necessitas* of defending or impugning political or religious opinions, before an unwilling audience, from the county hustings. For several years the murmur of a contest had not been heard. The county had sunk since Mr. Paliser's ill-advised attempt into the happy quietude of a borough. The Marquess was economical ; the coffers of the family were full ; all attack ex-

duced the Catholic Relief bill into the House of Commons in 1793. He subsequently commanded the Waterford regiment during the rebellion of 1798. His humanity, in those trying and disastrous scenes, honourably distinguished him from other members of his family. He was known by the *soubriquet* of the " Croppy Colonel ;" a designation applied by friend and foe, and, under the circumstances, a real eulogy.

cept from the gentry, and on the old system, appeared preposterous. The freeholders still *belonged* to their respective landlords, and did not even conceive the idea of acting, out of the range of this dependence, for themselves. They were, so far as their franchise or its exercise was concerned, mere serfs; and the Duke of Devonshire on one side, and the Marquess of Waterford on the other, were the joint Lords Paramount.

Such was the state of the county, when the Catholic and liberal party first resolved to throw off the yoke which had now oppressed them for nearly a century. The gentry, Catholic as well as Protestant, had hitherto acquiesced in this division of the county between the two parties. But the representation, as far as any impression was to be produced on parliament, was no representation at all. They were now determined that their opinions *should be heard*, and they lost no time in looking about for a member who could and would *express them*. The candidate they selected was inferior indeed, in the long and undisturbed possession of government patronage, in high title, in extensive pecuniary resources, to his adversary, but in every other particular he enjoyed a very pre-eminent advantage. It is true, he was young: he was untried; he had no personal connexion as yet with the county; but Mr. Stuart's

name was not unknown : he was descended from a family dear to Irish recollections : he was possessed of a large and ancient inheritance ; above all, he was the supporter of liberal principles, and a determined opponent to anti-Catholic despotism. This was a bond of union which required no strengthening. A message was instantly despatched to Mr. Stuart, then on his way to Italy. It found him in the Tyrol. He obeyed the call of the Catholics, and in a few weeks after landed at Waterford.

The enthusiasm which this circumstance produced was as yet confined to the upper and middle classes of the body. The people were unacquainted, except by vague rumours, with the struggle which was preparing. The address of Mr. Stuart was in the ordinary style ; but it called upon Catholics to judge for their own interests, and he professed himself ready to stand out, and strike the first blow, for their liberation. But the county rather wished than hoped ; and it was some time before it could be prevailed on to enter zealously and seriously into the contest.

Dinners were given,—and meetings held,—and the partisans of the sitting member laughed at the unavailing efforts to destroy an old rooted ascendancy. After a little indulgence in the

Irish propensity for speech-making,—a few riots, terminating in broken heads, trials, and heavy costs,—a paper campaign in the newspapers,—and a lavish expenditure of harmless addresses, placards, and resolutions,—they promised their patron that every thing would return in a very short time to its old sobriety. The very agents of Mr. Stuart gave him scarcely better hopes; the Association was silent in public,—in private its members smiled, and sometimes sneered at the absurdity. The rest of the country for the most part was indifferent. They considered it a very laudable Quixotic experiment; shook their heads at the freeholders; and oracularly pronounced that all this patriotism was very well, but that the *virtus post nummos* adage would still hold, and that it was idle to think that any organization could ever be attempted in Ireland, which could not be dispersed by the timely scattering of a few handfuls of gold-dust.

The dissolution, it was supposed, would have taken place in October. Had that been the case, no appeal beyond the ordinary gentle applications of landlords to their dependants, would have been necessary. The majority of votes on the registry books was in favour of Mr. Stuart. It would have been one of the ordi-

nary aristocratic elections; the house of Dro-mana would have vanquished in fair feudal lists the house of Curraghmore; and there the matter, without any lesson to the country, would have quietly ended. But, fortunately for the country, the election was protracted. It was now necessary to recur to other tactics. Nothing could be done without an incursion into the enemy's territory. The *people* had at last become important, and all future appeals were made to the *people*.

The first indication of this intention roused a simultaneous clamour of indignation from the anti-Catholics. The divine right of landlords* was attacked. The cherished relations of landlord

* A very decisive instance of the universality of this opinion amongst Catholics as well as Protestants, at the outset of this election, was their conduct in reference to the Duke of Devonshire. His Grace, "respecting the constitutional rights of the people, refused as a peer to interfere with the votes of his 50*l.* freeholders, but expected *of course* that his 40*s.* freeholders would abstain from giving their vote for either of the rival candidates." This temporary disfranchisement, after a fruitless expostulation with his Grace, was quietly acquiesced in by the liberal party. A little later the people *themselves* threw off the allegiance, and supported, as they termed it, in mass, "the same cause which had been supported by the Duke of Devonshire, and others of the sixty-nine peers." The immediate causes of this change will be referred to hereafter.

and tenant (of Irish landlord and Irish tenant) were violated. It was a daring "encroachment on the rights of private property," "highly ungentlemanlike," "should not be tolerated by any government," "a palpable insurrection," and must sooner or latter terminate in a renewal of the horrors of 1798. In the surprise and indignation of the moment they forgot even their own interests. Lord George's agents put forward in his name two addresses, which any reasonable man would have supposed had been framed in the committee-room of his antagonist. They were precisely the very documents which a wily electioneerer would have composed to rouse every passion and prejudice of the Irish Catholic freeholder against him. They were employed by his opponents; they did half their work. These addresses inveighed against the demagogues of the Association; villified the priests; spurned the people as superstitious slaves, and then turned round, and asked them for their "sweet voices." The people were ungrateful, and refused them. Money was then poured out,—and trampled on. It was too late to win back the allegiance of their ancient dependants. The defection spread rapidly through every part of the country. It soon reached the Marquess's own town of Kilmacthomas. Instead of the

ordinary greetings, the “ hereditary member ” was drummed out with music, the most afflicting which could fall on noble ears. The church and state was now in danger. Additional magistrates and additional troops were applied for and granted without much difficulty by a complaisant Castle Secretary. But the insurrection was not to be stopt by the usual expedients ; the desertion of the Catholic tenants from their anti-Catholic landlords every day increased, and in a few months the whole forty-shilling constituency of the country ranged itself on the side of the popular party. The very town of Portlaw, situated at the gate of the Marquess’s demesne of Curraghmore, at last rebelled. John Claudius Beresford had appeared amongst them.*

* This remarkable blunder, “ quem Deus vult perdere,” &c. was hailed with the greatest exultation at Waterford. It occurred under very favourable circumstances. The people of Portlaw had not been addressed at the outset of the election, from an apprehension of exposing them to the vengeance of their landlord. They felt mortified at this neglect, and sent a deputation to the committee, entreating them to appear amongst them. It first seemed impossible to comply with this requisition ; it was the Sunday before the election, and on a week day it was not easy to withdraw so large a population from their work. The Portlaw men solved the difficulty, and the meeting was appointed

The dissolution at last took place; the writ

for the ensuing Friday. In the mean time it was understood that the use of the chapel had been refused by the parish priest, in consequence of its being situated on the property of the Marquess. An order was obtained from the Bishop to have it opened, and a deputation of the committee set off, to address the freeholders. On their approaching Portlaw, they were received with the loudest congratulations; crowds rushed down from the neighbouring mountains; bonfires appeared on every height; green branches waved in every hand. The chapel had been forced open by the people. It was densely crowded; the whole vicinity was collected; the very workmen in the Marquess's demesne had thrown by their spades, and rushed down to join their countrymen. The agitators then addressed the people; resolutions against the Beresfords were passed with shouts, and acclamations which reached the mansion, and the people were about to separate peaceably, when a jaunting car, with a tall, sallow-looking person in it, passed rapidly through the multitude. He was soon recognised: it was John Claudius Beresford. Not a shout was heard, not a word; not a hiss: he appeared like an apparition amongst them; no one could believe it possible; it was a long time before they could recover their astonishment. Such was the man, the Beresfords had brought down to canvass for them! To the last moment, with the usual blindness of their party, they could not, or they would not read the changes of the times. But the freeholders of Waterford were not the same men whom at former elections he had duped, by kneeling in their chapels, taking their holy water, and listening to their mass. They had begun to read; they were no longer ignorant of 1798.

was issued, whether by accident or design,* in the very week, on the very day, most favourable to the interests of the Beresfords. The majority on the books against Mr. Stuart was overpowering. It amounted to more than six hundred votes. The triumph of the Beresfords seemed certain. It was already proclaimed in every eye. All this was natural. What could their partisans know of the people, of their hatreds, their wrongs, their hopes, their determination? Even many of Mr. Stuart's committee were of the same opinion. With the exception only of one or two of the members, and some of the principal clergy, none seemed to feel a well-grounded assurance of success. Mr. O'Connell himself (Mr. Stuart's counsel), for the two first days after his arrival from Dublin, thought the thing impossible; he was sad, doubtful, and taciturn. It was not until he had been brought face to face with the people at Dungarvan and Lismore, and had begun to observe the new spirit which had lately been kindled within them, that he fully understood the change. The point now was, not to excite, but to restrain. The freeholders of

* It was rumoured, though probably with little justice, that some compromise had been made to complete this arrangement: the price for the accommodation, was said to have been the borough of Armagh.

the Duke of Devonshire, who had not been yet appealed to, spurned the neutrality, and came down in mass. Not a single man could be kept at home.* Their whole families followed, as to a national triumph. The *odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, was never more truly exemplified. Their day of peaceable vengeance had now arrived. The two popular candidates entered Waterford, amidst an immense multitude, bearing before them the banners of their respective baronies, and marshalled for several miles, in the most perfect military array; during the entire procession, the most exemplary propriety was preserved; indeed, from the beginning to the end of the election, not a single outrage, scarcely a symptom of the most trifling disorder, occurred. The people were *unanimous*; they had no one to oppose them; they had the most implicit faith, and confidence in their leaders. The soldiers, who were assembled to the number of

* A steam-boat had been sent up the Blackwater to bring down the Duke of Devonshire's freeholders to Waterford: it was intended to keep them separated, lest they should become infected by the popular mania. Mr. O'Connell addressed them very humorously at Lismore on the perils of embarking in the "tea-kettle." The wives and daughters of the freeholders took the alarm, and the "tea-kettle" returned empty.

four thousand in the neighbourhood, had nothing to act on ; there was no tumult, no resistance ; they were mere spectators. The people regarded them as their protectors, shook hands with them, and cheered them repeatedly as they passed on. The next day the Election commenced ; the four or five first hours determined the complete triumph of the people. The first men who polled, were the freeholders of Kilmacthomas, and Portlaw. Some days previous to the election, they had grouped round the carriage of one or two gentlemen of the committee, who were passing through the former place. A venerable old man stepped from the crowd, and addressed them, in the name of his fellow freeholders. “ They had but one favour to ask, and they believed, they had deserved it ; as they had been the first to *declare* against the Beresfords, they hoped, they should be allowed the honour of being the first also, to *vote* against them.” The favour was easily granted, and they poured in, on all sides, to Waterford. There was a considerable majority the first day against the Beresfords ; it was almost exclusively from their own freeholders. It rapidly increased. Every hour some new circumstance occurred to kindle the enthusiasm of the people. The very opening of the contest was marked by unusual features. After the two candidates had been pro-

posed in due form, a gray-haired old man of the name of Casey, well known in the country as the first freeholder who had dared to refuse the Beresfords, arose and proposed Daniel O'Connell, Esq. "as a fit and proper person to represent the county of Waterford in parliament."* The effect of this novel scene was indescribable. Lord George started: his adherents arose to prevent the insult, but were calmed by Mr. Wallace, the counsel of Lord George, and Mr. O'Connell was permitted to deliver one of the most truly eloquent harangues which has probably ever fallen from the mouth of a candidate. He concluded, after a two hours' speech, "with an assurance that he did not wish to disturb the *unanimity* of the county, and should accordingly withdraw his pretensions." The intimation relieved the opposite party, and in some degree the party of Messrs. Stuart and Powers' friends (for had he persevered, he would undoubtedly have been elected); but the

* This was a preconcerted arrangement, in order to give Mr. O'Connell an opportunity of delivering his opinions from the hustings. It is the first instance I believe on record, since the commencement of the penal code, of a Catholic having been proposed as a candidate at an election. Some opposition was made; but it was soon overruled. This was the first suggestion: Clare carried the suggestion into effect.

impression remained with the people, and his name and influence, continued to be identified with the election. Every day some storehouse or apartment, where the freeholders were kept in strait custody by the opposite party, was broken open ; the staunchest supporters deserted ; men who had received bribes, held up the notes in open court, and suddenly denounced their employers ; in fine, defeat came in every shape of mortification ; and before the fifth day closed, Lord George retired from the contest, and Mr. Stuart was announced to have been duly elected by a vast majority. Not one half of Mr. Stuart's own freeholders, were brought into action. The battle was fought, with the forces of the enemy. The most perfect good temper prevailed throughout. The people during the entire struggle manifested an order and discipline, till that moment unknown, and which more than any other circumstance confounded, and astonished their enemies. Not a single outrage sullied their success : the victory of the just cause, was in every particular, pure and perfect.

The surprise of all Ireland, at this extraordinary intelligence was extreme. Each party gave his interpretations, and assigned his causes ; some attributed it to the Association ; others to the priests ; others to the spirit of the people

themselves. As the influence of this great event has confessedly had an effect on the destinies of the country far superior to any other circumstance preceding it, it may not be altogether inconsistent with the rapid character of a sketch, to dwell a little longer, on the real principles by which it was effected.

The most remarkable features in the Waterford election were, the high state of moral enthusiasm in favour of a great principle to which the people were elevated, and the singular steadiness, perseverance, and calmness, with which they brought it, to bear triumphantly upon their purpose.*

* Innumerable instances occurred of this sobriety and firmness of purpose in every part of the county. At Waterford the butchers, the most turbulent portion as it may well be conceived of the community, formed themselves, *ex mero motu*, and without any suggestion from the committee, into a "society for the preservation of the peace" during the election. Their resolutions were admirable, full of sense, spirit, and determination. They divided the city into walks, and were to be found in parties of six, with white wands, traversing the streets during the night, and sending home to their respective houses every freeholder who was met rambling after eleven o'clock. It was singular how implicitly their authority was obeyed by every one, without any other commission, than the "good of the cause." The Mayor indeed grew angry at this undue usurpation of his powers, and the High Sheriff expostulated with the butchers at his request (rather ironically to be sure) from the hustings

Both these results, were produced by a combination of various means, which were themselves suggested by circumstances.

The “Catholic Rent,” the “Provincial Meetings,” and “the Census,” together with the spread of education, produced by the efforts of the New Reformists, had already prepared the mind of the people for any appeal which might be made to it, by the friends of public liberty.* The Association had given them the habit of acting in concert, and, what was scarcely less valuable, an implicit reliance upon their leaders, and their clergy. This was every thing. The application of these powers, was afterwards easy. The clergy, at the outset, were as usual divided into two parties—the old and the young. The old, were averse to all species of disturbance, and, with very indistinct views of civil rights, thought it an indecorous departure from their ecclesi-

on the impropriety of their having taken the peace-keeping of the city, into their own hands. But, besides a good-humoured laugh, nothing followed. They continued abstaining from whiskey, and doing the voluntary constable during the entire election.

* “If your hand be strong enough to keep down, what could it not do, if it were employed in raising up?” was the emphatic, and just observation of one of these gentlemen, to an agitator who praised the tranquillity of the people.

astical character, the engaging even remotely in the tumult of a contested election. Many too had been in the habit of fearing, and some of respecting, the Beresfords, and before the people had pronounced *decidedly* in the matter, were much more disposed (a singular proof of the effects of the penal code) to take a part with their old taskmasters, than with the liberals, and Mr. Stuart. The young were of a very different temper: for the most part they had been educated at Maynooth, and had carried with them, as I have already remarked, all that spirit of independence and democracy, which of late years has more or less, become the characteristic of every description of Irish Catholic education. They were full of the spirit of the times, and thoroughly acquainted with every detail of recent politics. No wonder then, they should have seized with the utmost earnestness, the first opportunity of exerting themselves, in a cause which they believed to be that of every Catholic in the country. But in all this there was nothing of the priest, nothing of that spiritual ambition which seeks for the ascendancy of a particular caste, at the expense of the liberties of the rest of the community. They entered the arena like common citizens,* and

* " Qui ultrò se offerens respondit se civem Romanum

carried on the struggle, with little or no reference to their spiritual power. The diocese of Waterford, was then governed by a remarkable man. He had passed much of his early life in America, and had been long removed from the influence of modern Catholic politics ; but he was gifted with a clear understanding, a true sense of the sufferings and wrongs of the body, and a strenuous and determined will, to use every means in his power to redress them. Dr. Kelly did not for an instant hesitate, which course should be adopted. His accession to the liberal party was important. But many of the old priests still held out, and were not to be subdued, until the people had so strongly expressed their opinion, that no choice was left them between co-operation, and open quarrel.* The

esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent,” was the answer of the Abbot of Monte Cassino on a similar occasion. This, was the entire principle of the interference of the clergy.

* In many instances at the outset, the priests from the best of motives, felt the greatest reluctance to address the people. No fund existed at that time, for the protection of the freeholders. As good pastors, they could not be induced to expose their flocks to the danger of losing every means of subsistence, which they and their families possessed. In those cases, the people often outstepped their clergyman. The Catholic clergy are paid by the voluntary contributions of the people. A clergyman of the county of Waterford,

people, in the first instance, might have been excited by the priest, as they were by the demagogue; but in the progress of the struggle, it was not the priest who led, but the people. It was public opinion acting in its boldest and most extensive form, upon priest, gentleman, and peasant, alike. The case was perfectly analogous to that of Spain and Greece. There, if the priest joined the popular cause, he immediately obtained an unbounded influence, a natural consequence where the contest was semi-religious, and where the laws and the government took care that it should be so: but if in any instance he seceded, then was he not only regarded as a traitor to his country, but as an apostate, and a renegade to his God. The priest after a little time, was hurried along by the torrent, and had only to decide whether he should ride on its surface, or be buried altogether beneath the stream. There was much clamour at the time, and much misrepresentation after-

supposed to be in the interests of the Beresfords, but otherwise popular, had come to a remote part of the county on his annual "quest." He was in the habit of generally bringing back from 50*l.* to 60*l.*, but on opening the box after service, he found it to contain not more than 2*s.* 6*d.* This fact speaks volumes. The priests, were here kindled by the people, and not the people by the priests.

wards, on the abuse of his spiritual influence. It might be sufficient answer to such imputations to say, that six several petitions complaining of this abuse have been successively presented to parliament, and witnesses procured by means the most discreditable to support their allegations, but that five of these six petitions have been rejected, after a deliberate examination by the legislature, and one withdrawn by the petitioners themselves. But the slightest consideration of the circumstances and the persons implicated, will render this unnecessary. The arguments which they used, had no connexion with their spiritual power. They were based on the principles of general morality, and applicable to the rights and duties of all classes of citizens. They neither fulminated excommunications, nor withheld the sacraments as it is averred; but they spoke of the crime of perjury, and of the oath of the freeholder at the hustings, and of the duty of the elector, and of the baseness of bribery; and if such themes made the impression which they ought to have done, it is to the credit of the priest and of the people, and an influence which every good man should obey, and of which every free citizen should be proud.

These instructions of the priest in private

were seconded by the earnest co-operation of the agitators in public. Their first care was to provide a proper organization. The system they adopted for the purpose was simple, but all-powerful. A general committee was established in the county town. It consisted nominally of many members—a few only acted. They had their branch committees in every barony, constituted on a similar principle. The priests were honorary members. In attendance on these committees were two local agents, who furnished weekly, their reports. The baronial committees made similar reports, to the general committee, and received in turn its instructions. Each parish priest, each local agent, and each baronial committee, had their registry-book. They were required to make upon each name, besides, the usual remarks relative to right of voting, &c. their own particular and personal observations. These books were handed in from the several parts of the country a week or two previous to the election, and from this information was compiled an analytic view (which scarcely presented a single error when brought to the test of experience) of the temper and dispositions of the entire county. The whole of this machinery was soon in operation, and worked admirably; but it was chiefly calculated to preclude confusion, to restrain and apply the excitement, but not to create the ex-

citement itself. Something more was requisite. It was determined to make an almost individual appeal to the forty-shilling constituency of the county. A certain number of the committee were deputed to address each parish, in rotation. They chose Sunday for these assemblies, to avoid the inconvenience and tumult of specially-convened meetings ; and for two months previous to the election, they were to be seen, before the altar of the respective chapels, haranguing the people on the discharge of their approaching duties. Their reasoning was short and simple. They took the “ bribery oath ” in one hand, the “ two addresses ” of Lord George Beresford in the other. They asked the people, how they could take the money of the Beresfords and that oath at the same time ? They asked the old and young, whether their priests had not told them that perjury was a crime ? They told them, that the oath which had just been read should be put to every freeholder : they warned them to reflect upon its deep import, and to reflect in due time. Then were the addresses opened and read, and commented on article by article. “ Who were these Beresfords ? ” it was demanded ;—their whole history from their first settlement in the country (in consequence of their marriage with the Catholic heiress, Lady Catherine de la Poer) to their final feats in the late rebellion, was de-

tailed. "Was a Catholic so base that he did not even know, when he was trampled on? If he doubted, let him read their manifestoes;—there they gloried in their hatred to his faith;—there they proclaimed their enmity eternal;—there they trod on the Catholic freeholder as if he had been their hereditary slave! In striking at the Beresfords, they struck at the very heart of the Ascendancy. The great opportunity desired so long, was now at length before them—they had only to will the deed, and it was done!" Every discourse concluded, with the most earnest entreaties, to preserve order and peace. They appealed to them, by the name of their enemies to be tranquil;—not to allow a single word to escape them, which could be construed by their opponents into a violation of the laws. The laws were their protectors, and every thing could be gained by a determined and calm attitude—nothing by brute force.* The priest then

* The Bribery oath, and this admirable discipline of the people—a lesson they seized with an intelligence and justness of reasoning quite incomprehensible to a stranger—were the main-springs of the subsequent success. In the very heat of the election, strong and stout men were to be seen, when struck by the opposite party, turning round on their assailants, and laughing quietly in their face: "You know," they used to say, "you dare not do this, if it were not for the elec-

stepped forward, and addressed them, in their own vehement and figurative language. Resolutions were next framed and proposed by priest, gentleman, and farmer, indiscriminately. The next day, they were struck off on small slips of paper, and on the following Sunday scattered to the amount of thousands in the neighbouring parish, previous to the assembly of the day. Shame and emulation are powerful stimulants, They are particularly so in Ireland, even in those portions of the country which are considered the most abandoned. The "Crusade," as it was denominated, worked its effect. It was soon a disgrace to be in the minority. The freeholder, in his own house, had an influence to contend with far more powerful than the influence of the demagogue, or of the priest. His wife and children were there, and sacrifices the most unheard of, were submitted to, rather than "demean them-

tion." Sometimes, when a violent opponent, John Claudius for instance, got into the midst of the crowd, they would open their ranks with a humorous affectation of civility, and allow him peaceably to pass on. They abstained from their habitual indulgence in spiritual liquors. At Clare this self-control was still more conspicuous. A freeholder asked for a glass of water: a priest was by, and poured a glass of spirits into it. The freeholder perceived it, and immediately emptied the glass at his feet.—"Arn't we sworn," said he, "and musn't we keep our troth?"

selves," as they said, "before all the county." Then it was that the ascendancy began seriously to awaken; but it was too late. The "Young Committee," as they contemptuously had called it, for not one of its members had been engaged in an election warfare before, had taken up all the vantage positions, and had already got possession of every approach to the camp. They began to imitate what they had at first despised, and to marshal for the battle, when it was now the time to fight.—It was too late. The victory was decided before the engagement had begun. In a few days the power of the intolerants was extinguished for ever.

Such were the wonder-workers in this singular contest, and such the tactics by which it was carried on. It was not the power of the priests, nor the power of the demagogues, but it was the power of common grievance—of common hatred—of common resistance, directed judiciously by the common efforts of priest and demagogue, to a practical and determinate result. The influence they possessed was solely in their being the reflection and expression of all this. The eloquence they used was in the people's heart, guiding the people the way they had determined to go; they were every thing; had

they opposed them, they would unquestionably have been nothing.

Once that the secret was discovered of the people's power, it was instantly felt, and applied in various parts of Ireland. Wexford had unfortunately its writ issued, and its election decided, before that of Waterford. It had submitted to the oligarchical influence of Lord Stopford: had it followed and not preceded the neighbouring county of Waterford, little doubt can exist that its energetic population would have easily found the means of emancipating themselves with equal celerity and success from their servitude. Louth, Monaghan, and Westmeath, followed, fought similar battles, and obtained similar triumphs; Louth in particular was conspicuous. Like Waterford, it had long groaned under the joint mastery of the Jocelyns and Fosters, the relics of the old oligarchy, the Beresfords of that part of Ireland. The contest there, unlike that of Waterford, was a tumult; the victory, a *coup de main*. It had peculiarities which still more strongly marked the popular indignation, and the popular will. Mr. Dawson, a retired barrister, with a small property in the county, was the candidate. He brought with him no splendours of ancient

name, like Mr. Stuart; no savings of a long minority; no recollections associated with the early history of the country. He stood simply on a warm devotion to popular rights—on the popular hatred to the dominion of these taskmasters. It was a matter of a few hours only; almost without deliberation; entirely without preparation: he appeared in the field, before his antagonist had even dreamt of the contest. His appeal was simple; unresisted; irresistible. The people believed themselves capable of every thing,—it was a great spell,—they were soon, in fact, what they believed themselves to be. The Jocelyn candidate was rejected by a vast majority; and so also would the Foster representative have been, had it been possible to have found a candidate to oppose him in proper time. But the triumph of the trampled people—of the despised Catholic freeholder—was not the less complete.* A new tone of thinking and of acting became general and familiar throughout all Ireland.—Confidence in an instrument which had now been fully proved; an habitual and well-organised combination; strict obedience to the laws; constitutional agitation,

* See a very interesting sketch of this celebrated struggle, too graphic not to have been written by an eye-witness, in the *New Monthly Magazine* for March and April, 1829.

henceforth became the code of the great confederacy of the Catholics. The patriot exulted at this glorious demonstration of the energies of men, who had so long been judged incapable of even the desire of freedom: the philosopher, rejoiced at the progress of sounder principles and the gradual substitution of moral influences for the coarse means of physical force; but, above all, the statesman already saw, in the events which had lately been passing before him, that a new course of policy would soon become inevitable, and that such agents and such agency, acting upon such bodies, must terminate speedily in restoring to Ireland its just franchises, or in plunging England into anarchy and confusion; and finally, perhaps, into utter ruin, without a hand to rescue her amongst other nations, or a heart to sympathise in her fall.

CHAP. IX.

Persecution of landlords—New Rent—Its effects and utility—Simultaneous Meetings—Continental sympathy—American sympathy—American addresses and associations, &c. alarming—American party in Ireland—Its principles—Its conduct—Results—Canning administration—His policy—His means—Wellington ministry—Marquess of Wellesley—Marquess of Anglesey.

THE triumphs of the Catholics were too important and too galling to the ascendancy, not to produce an immediate reaction. The elections were immediately followed by open war against the insurgents. Tenants were ejected without mercy; whole families turned out upon the high road; and recurrence had to every expedient of retaliation, which could most strongly mark the indignation and vengeance of the defeated party. The tenant, in many cases, lay particularly exposed to the severity of his landlord. In parts of Ireland, for instance, a small tenement was given to a peasant for a yearly rent sufficiently low to allow him the interest prescribed by law:

this rent was allowed to accumulate sometimes for thirteen or fourteen years successively, until it was utterly beyond the power of the freeholder to repay it. Where ejectment took place, the freeholder remained still liable for the debt, and was subjected by other process to imprisonment. In other cases the single life, sometimes nearly eighty or ninety years old, on which perhaps thirty or forty holdings depended, suddenly dropped, and a whole district became, at one blow, exposed to the cruelty of the village tyrant. These facilities to persecution were seized with avidity, and the immediate results of the election were of the most melancholy description. The breach between the parties was widened; new exasperations were added to the old; the priest was accused with the landlord; and the worst consequences, on all sides, were apprehended. It was dreaded, that once more the peasant would resume the rights of self-defence, and rush on to those acts of personal retaliation, which in all times had been so anxiously identified with the cause of the Catholics. It had produced the various coercive acts, with which the statute-book had formerly been crowded, and thrown the most serious obstacles in the way of emancipation. On the side of the freeholder, there were scarcely less

difficulties to contend with. The want of sympathy in the situation of men, to whom the late triumph had so pre-eminently been owing, would of all others have been the most certain means of deterring them in future from similar co-operation. A fund was proposed for their relief, and in a few weeks the "New Rent"* for the protection of the forty-shilling freeholders, poured in from every side into the coffers of the Association.

The result of this exertion was most perceptible. The freeholders not only were very speedily released, but they were taught to identify their interests, in a still more intimate manner, with the Association. They preferred personally their claims for redress, either to the Protecting Committees, as they were called, existing for that purpose in the contested counties, or to the clergy of the parish, or to the more popular leaders of the Association. They

* The creation of such a fund was first suggested at Dungarvan, in consequence of numerous applications from the clergy about two months before the Waterford election. It was then limited to a local subscription, and the promises of preference on vacant lands to such freeholders as might be ejected by their landlords for a conscientious discharge of their duty during the ensuing contest. Mr. O'Connell had the merit of making it really useful, by extending it to every part of Ireland.

were assured of having such petitions received with every due consideration by a body, which affected to proceed directly from the people, had encouraged them in the late struggle, and declared themselves the organ of their complaints, and the determined asserters of their violated rights. On the other side, the Association derived the most material advantage from this additional principle of union. The Rent, which flowed out upon the people, came back through the various channels doubled and quadrupled to the Association treasury. Like every other attempt to repress the advancement of the cause, the persecution of the landlords but added a new impetus to its progress. The landlords themselves at last admitted the justice of this assertion. They dropped off, one by one, from the unequal conflict, and came into terms of arrangement, through the intervention frequently of the priests, with their own tenants.* In some

* When this persecution in some instances had gone to the greatest extremes, it was suddenly stopped by the menace of purchasing up the outstanding judgments affecting the landlord, and wielding the same weapon which he had employed to persecute the freeholder, against himself. It is not meant to offer any defence of this species of domestic warfare; but it may be observed, that it arose out of the anomalous state in which all the relations of private as well as public life, were thrown by the laws, and the continuance of

cases, where ejectments had taken place, the tenants rather benefited than otherwise, by the arrangement. Several freeholds virtually fell into the hands of the Association, and the landlords abstained from any new registry of their tenants, with a declaration, that they had no intention in future of placing weapons in the hands of their enemies. All this tended to an obvious augmentation of the Catholic interest. The Catholics every where profited by the fears or apathy of their enemies. An active registry was commenced in the popular interest in Louth, Limerick, &c. &c. It no longer appeared doubtful that, with ordinary exertion, the Catholics would be enabled to return three-fourths of the representation of Ireland at the next ensuing General Election.

The necessity of presenting an annual petition from the Catholics of Ireland to parliament, and the policy of adding as much as possible to its weight, by similar petitions from the country, had suggested during the last year various expedients for the better arrangement of such petitions in the cities, counties, and parishes, of the kingdom. The secretary of the Catholics of each county was directed to send down to the parishes immediately under his control, the form which had been advocated, and prolonged by the very men who were now the first amongst its victims.

of such petitions, with blanks, for the insertion of their local grievances. These instructions in some instances had been complied with; but from various avocations interfering, from want of zeal and intelligence, or from other circumstances, very few of the parishes had received the proper forms in due time. This inconvenience demanded a remedy, and attracted the attention of Mr. Sheil. It occurred to him, that it would be of great utility to the cause, could petitions be had not only from every county and city, but from every parish in Ireland. The apathy and stupidity of the lower classes, their total indifference to emancipation, their ignorance of its very meaning, had been put forward very frequently, in both Houses of Parliament, as an irresistible argument against all concession.*

* These accusations have been made, not only by men hostile, but by men friendly to the Catholics, and well acquainted with Ireland. See *M'Nevin's and Emmett's examination by the secret committee of the Irish House of Commons in 1798*; but there were *then* grounds for the imputation which do not exist at *present*. The Irish people always felt their grievances, but did not trace them to their right causes. The Association, aided by the more general diffusion of knowledge in the present day, have given them the opportunity, and the means of judging more accurately. It was conferring a great blessing. Till this could be effected, the peasant always wasted his energies on secondary evils and secondary remedies. He felt that he was deprived of the

Late events had indeed contributed to render rather questionable the accuracy of such statements; but the force of the refutation might still be very considerably strengthened by an increased number of petitions being annually laid upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament. This was not to be done without system, and to the perfecting of this system Mr. Sheil applied himself.

But Mr. Sheil had other objects of much greater magnitude in view. The late elections had proved how easily the people could be acted on by their leaders. It was desirable

advantages of impartial justice, and immediately attacked the magistrate or the judge. So on through every other grievance. The Association first directed his attention from the individual to the system. It was not by burnings, or assassinations, or acts of local and immediate vengeance, he could hope for redress,—it was by the removal of that principle of inequality, which was the fertile source from which every injury and provocation had flowed. The Association laboured incessantly at this great moral revolution, and finally achieved it. It suppressed outrage and fewed in eleven counties a little after its first establishment; and converted the energies of the very men most implicated in such proceedings, to the purposes of a common constitutional effort for the achievement of a common constitutional cause. Let the enemies of the Association remember this.—If it taught the people what Emancipation was, it taught them also the only true or legitimate means of acquiring it.

that this influence should be rendered as powerful, and as extensive as possible. It was scarcely less so, that it should be placed in a clear and striking point of view before all classes of the country. For this purpose, Mr. Sheil devised a very judicious expedient. He proposed that a meeting should be held, on the same day, in every parish in Ireland, for the purpose of petitioning parliament for the concession of their legitimate claims. The *simultaneous* character of these assemblies would draw closer (it was hoped) the bonds of union between every portion of the Catholic community, and give the most striking evidence of the unanimous soul—of the all-pervading influence of the Catholic Association. Mr. Sheil had suggested a somewhat similar measure in the earlier part of the year. He had brought forward a resolution, that the Catholic prelates should be requested to appoint a certain form of prayer, to be recited in the Catholic churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, praying that God would turn the heart of his Majesty's ministry to the just consideration of their condition; but this project (conceived it would appear in the same view as the simultaneous meetings, in order to produce a more perfect sense of union amongst the body) was ill calculated to effect its purpose. The Bishops were averse to such

interference, and the suggestion lent every facility to sneer and misinterpretation. The resolution was passed in the Association, but, as might be imagined, remained inoperative. It probably had no other merit than having led to the more matured measure of the "Simultaneous Meetings." The execution even of that project was encumbered with great difficulties. No government, it was to be supposed, would suffer tranquilly such a general assemblage of all the people. The Association itself would incur great risk and great responsibility in adventuring it. The reaction of the North, the general alarm of all Protestants, would more than counterbalance any advantages to which it might be supposed to lead. These objections, and many more, were obviated by a judicious expedient. The meetings were ordered to be held on an appointed Sunday, after mass, in every parish in the country; the form of the petitions was to be sent down by the Association, and when passed, were, without delay, to be transmitted back to the secretary. This arrangement was obvious and simple. The day was fixed by a resolution of the Association, and simultaneous meetings were held in every parish in Ireland.*

* "On the same day and at the same hour (21st January, 1828), meetings were held in upwards of fifteen hundred Catholic churches; and it has been calculated, on the pre-

Nothing occurred at any of those meetings which could in the slightest degree tend to violate the public peace. Every proceeding was conducted with perfect propriety and good order. But it must be conceded, that there was no great proof of Catholic enthusiasm, or Association influence, in the measure as it thus stood. It was obvious that it was the celebration of the mass, and not the proposal or passing of the petition, which had drawn the people together.—A petition too, read by the priest, and assented to by the congregation, was not exactly the truest expression which could be conceived of the popular will. But this is a short-sighted view of the subject. The principal point to be attained was, “to *habituate the people to obey, at a moment’s warning; the resolutions and commands of the Association.*” The Association would have been unwise *in limine* in attempting any thing which could tend to render doubtful this disposition. It gave orders easy to be complied with, and the facility of the execution of itself produced and confirmed the habit. The people did not examine very narrowly the assumption of one thousand persons having attended each meeting (certainly a moderate average), that not less than ONE MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS were *simultaneously* assembled for the same object on this impressive occasion.”—*Evening Post.*

rowly into the nature of the machinery employed; they attributed it exclusively to the will and power of the Association; and to the Association they began to look more and more every day for the direction of every particular of their conduct. The progress, though gradual, was most perceptible. There was no difficulty in assembling the people upon a SUNDAY.—This repeated, would have soon rendered it equally easy to have assembled them on a *week* day. Once such assemblies had become practicable, at the decree of the Association, the entire population of Ireland would be in its hands. What could have prevented it from making use of this power? It would have been a matter only of a piece of paper, and of four-and-twenty hours.*

Fortunately for the country, there existed no necessity during the late events for bringing this colossal but dangerous machinery into action; and it is much to the credit of the good sense

* The people met *without* arms, and for the peaceable purpose of *petitioning*: but they met at once,—they met on the same day,—above all, they met by the *order* of the Association. What if the Association at some later period had ordered them to meet *with* arms, for the purpose, not of *petitioning* against, but *resisting* tithes, &c. &c.;—would they have disobeyed? The fulcrum and the power were found—the lever could be applied to any thing.

and discretion of the leaders, that, conscious of the power which they held in their hands, they abstained from displaying it for mere purposes of boast or menace. They were satisfied with the quiet and secret progress of the influence, without risking its exhibition, on small or unnecessary occasions, before the public. In the management of such concerns, nothing is indifferent—what is not good, must necessarily be bad. This truth did not, it is true, always impress itself sufficiently on their minds, and many very injurious results have proceeded from its having been neglected. But in the present instance it was otherwise: the Association, content with having found an admirable secret, abstained from applying it in practice, until absolutely called for. The project, and the execution reflect high honour upon Mr. Sheil; it was one of those measures which might have had, under other circumstances, the most important influence on the destinies of the country.

Whilst Ireland was thus organising itself, with an order and discretion rarely witnessed in any country—going on from little to great, and gathering at every step a more implicit confidence in its union and resources,—its proceedings did not escape the attention and the sympathies of other countries. The French, stimulated by the progress of liberal institutions amongst them—

selves, and not a little perhaps by a lurking recollection of the injuries they had sustained from England, began to turn towards Ireland a large portion of their observation, and to hope from the discontents, allowed so unwisely to continue in that country, a new addition to the spirit of liberalism spreading throughout Europe, and an ample vengeance in due season, on the head of their haughty rival. The letters in the *Etoile*, the confidential and indeed official organ of the government,* the visit of two or three distinguished French travellers, the Duc de Montebello, Mons. Duvergier, the Marquis de Dalmatie, and others, and the publication of their travels on their return,—made a strong impression on the French mind.† Societies were

* It is now well known that the Letters, which were so much admired in the *Etoile*, and which for a moment created such an outcry and alarm in the English papers, were the production of a distinguished Catholic leader. The Courier on the discovery resumed courage, but their effect abroad was not diminished. This, after all, was the principal point.

† “ En Irlande,” says a late writer, “ on ne voit guères que des paysans plus malheureux que des sauvages. Seulement, au lieu d’être cent mille, comme ils seraient dans l’état de nature, ils sont huit millions, et font vivre richement cinq cents *absentees* à Londres et à Paris. Avec la religion payenne, ces pauvres diables auraient au moins joui d’un peu.

projected in aid of the Catholic Association, both at Paris and Bordeaux, but the spirit was not yet sufficiently ripe to carry the project into prompt execution.* In Germany, and even in Italy, a similar feeling began to develop itself. The rapid translation of every thing connected with Ireland not only into French, but into both those languages, is a proof of the general interest, which its condition had begun to excite in the most remote parts of the Continent. Travellers brought home the same report. They were met every where, when they spoke of the glory of England, with taunts on the oppressions of Ireland. Every Englishman was made personally to feel the shame and disgrace which the tyranny of his own government had obtained for him abroad. The existing state of Europe was also favourable to this feeling. The late revolutions in Spain and Italy had disposed people to this train of thought, and the struggle

de bonheur." This is an abstract of the opinion of the Continent.

• The Association at Paris was to have embraced many of the "Liberals." It was to have been to France, what the Catholic Association was to Ireland, the generator and director of a most extensive organization. It was dispersed, much to the regret of many Frenchmen, by the King's speech.

in Greece, which still continued, furnished an example in courage and suffering, quite analogous to the struggle in Ireland. The Irish Catholic was assimilated in the popular imagination to the Christian Greek, and the English Protestant to his Turkish master. But there was another nation, whose interest in the situation of Ireland was of a far stronger, and more domestic character. America had been long the asylum of the suffering and expatriated Irish;—the country which of all others most keenly reflected the feelings, and understood the grievances of the Irish Catholic. The ties of consanguinity, the dearer ties of character and principle, the common recollection of former oppression, the remembrance of ancient communion and of ancient resistance to wrong:—all these feelings not only preserved, but enhanced, by the contrast between their former and their present situation, between Irish servitude and American liberty, directed their attention at a very early period to their injured brethren on the other side of the Atlantic.* In the year

* It is calculated that nearly one half of the annual arrivals in the United States are Irish. Many of these are from Canada. The change from Ireland to Canada, if we are to judge from the letters of individuals, and the Report on the State of Ireland in 1825, is felt to be a change from a state

1825, a general meeting was held at New York, Judge Swanton in the chair. Resolutions, and an address from the eloquent pen of Dr. M'Nevin to the people of Ireland, were unanimously voted. Some of these resolutions are very remarkable. They profess to have for their object, "the giving efficient expression to their sympathy for the oppressed, and their indignation at the conduct of their oppressors." For this purpose a co-operating Association, modelled with great skill on the plan of the Catholic Association, and a "Rent" similar to that collected in Ireland, under the direction of this body, and the auspices of the state government, were immediately established. The ad-

of bondage to a state of comparative liberty. The comparison is continued: the Irishman, wishing still farther to improve his moral and physical condition, makes no difficulty in emigrating to the Union. The ultimate effects on our settlements, of this emigration and transit of Irish, may be separation. It may be doubtful, whether the emigration *en masse*, which Mr. Wilmot Horton recommends, might not (if effected) considerably tend to accelerate this rupture. At all events, it can only be retarded. Sooner or later, the colony must become an independent country. She is ripening for it daily, and England is hurrying her to it by her indifference and impolicy. "Nations," says Mr. Grattan, "have neither a parent's nor a child's affection: like the eagle, they dismiss their young, and know them no longer."

dress was in a bold and impassioned tone, and was received in Ireland with sentiments of surprise and gratitude; but it ventured into topics which had no immediate reference to the existing state of Irish politics, and contained principles which, however just in the abstract, appeared to be misplaced at the moment, or at least calculated to embarrass, and to alarm. A very interesting discussion, on the motion of a vote of thanks, by Mr. Stephen Coppinger (who perseveringly continued to encourage this connexion with America), terminated at last in a modified expression of the public gratitude; it excluded every opinion on the principles of the address; but, in a marked manner, declared how deeply sensible the Catholics of Ireland felt at the sympathy expressed in their degradation by free American citizens. The impression which this event made in Ireland at the time was slight: but Mr. Coppinger judged well; it was the forerunner of important consequences. The organization, once commenced, diffused itself over various parts of the United States, with a celerity which had been little calculated on, on this side of the Atlantic. Meetings similar to that of New York took place at Washington, Augusta, Boston, &c. Addresses were voted in all those

places to the Catholics of Ireland, differing in tone, and repressing the expression of the opinions which had marked the first address from New York, but all full of the most anxious interest, and the most heartfelt concern in the grievances and calamities of ~~this~~ unfortunate country. Associations sprung up, with branch associations spreading off from them, in every direction: the Rent was every where put into a course of collection, and a most active correspondence opened, between each of these societies, and the Catholic Association of Ireland. Every week new evidences of their zeal poured in, from the most distant and separated parts of the Union; and the signatures to the addresses, and the increasing amount of Rent which accompanied them, gave better proof than the addresses themselves of the spirit of indignation which pervaded all classes of the American community. In a little time, it was highly probable that these co-operating bodies would extend themselves to every part of that vast republic. But two years after their first establishment in New York, they had already begun to start up amongst the liberated states of South America. Irishmen had emigrated in that direction also, and had brought with them the burning sense of accumulated injury

—the liveliest desire of retaliation,—a deep and solid detestation of the very name—of the very thought, of England. A great and new spectacle now opened on all sides, and the opportunity of giving active and effective expression to these feelings was seized with most extraordinary anxiety. Similar contributions were transmitted from Newfoundland, from Nova Scotia, and from various other portions of the British settlements. There was thus a long line of communication established from North to South, throughout the whole of this mighty continent, all tending to the same end, all using the same means,—all co-operating in applying them, with the same energy, to the liberation of Ireland. The American papers were filled with the subject. Ireland often formed their heading article. The debates of their Associations were given with the same punctuality, and read with an earnestness scarcely inferior to that, which generally attended the proceedings of the Catholic Association of Ireland. The entire people became kindled by the subject, and every day the conclusions to which it tended were more and more perceptible. The last document from that country (it arrived in Ireland but a short time after the dissolution of the Association) states, that in every hamlet

in the land similar bodies were ere long to be established, and that delegates of the friends of Ireland (it was thus the Phillelles precluded to the liberation of Greece) were to assemble in general congress from all parts of the Union at Washington, there to consider, and devise the best means of assisting the efforts making in this country for Emancipation. The exertions of individuals were favoured by the government : the local authorities often presided ; and it has been stated on the best information, within these last few days, that the President himself, General Jackson,* had just expressed his intention

* General Jackson is the son of an Irishman, and has more than once been opposed to the English. His military talents are well known. We have not yet forgotten New Orleans. Whether his hostility to this country be as marked as it is generally represented, may admit of some doubt ; but it is obvious he is not the man to offer any opposition to a feeling, which in a short time would probably have become the feeling of all America. It is said, that the statues injured by General Ross are still preserved in the same mutilated state in which he left them, in order constantly to remind the Americans of the debt of vengeance which they owe their country. Such men, with such recollections, must be but too well inclined to avail themselves of every opportunity which may offer, to wound England through the side of Ireland. Had not a better policy at last prevailed, such an opportunity would not have been long delayed.

of subscribing the first thousand dollars to the patriotic fund.

Little doubt can exist, that if this sort of collateral or accompanying organization in America had been suffered to proceed, and thus to spread itself over every part of the States, the most alarming, and perhaps the most fatal consequences, might have ultimately resulted to this country. The suppression of the Association in Ireland (even if practicable), in such a state of things, would literally have effected nothing. No English statute could have travelled to the other side of the Atlantic; the exasperation produced by so arbitrary an act, on the temper of the Irish Catholics, would in an instant have communicated itself to their brethren in America. Indignation, legitimate indignation, would have added new fuel to their zeal: the Associations would of course have increased: their funds would have augmented; and a spirit very different from the spirit which now exists, would very probably have directed their future application. To prevent the introduction of such sums into Ireland would of course have been utterly impossible. They might have been lodged in the name of Mr. O'Connell, or in the name of any other individual, in the American, French, or English funds. Such a government as ours,

so vitally dependent on its commercial honour,* could not dare to interfere with private property, and would thus have been compelled to witness the existence of such resources, without having it in its power to restrict or prevent their application. Nor would this have been the whole of the evil. It must be remembered, that America is now a very different power, from what she was at the period of the last rebellion. Her connexion and sympathy with Ireland are infinitely closer. The survivors of that eventful period occupy some of the highest stations in her government. They cannot be supposed to have lost much of their old antipathies. They have long watched with anxiety every chance of retaliation. They have the will, and would not have been long, under such circumstances, without the means to effect it. They would have found in Ireland a most powerful co-operation. The delay of emancipation on the one side, and the habit of discussion on every topic connected with government (generated by the debates on the Catholic question) on the other, had produced views incompatible with the connexion in the mind of a large body of the population. Many be-

* The saying which has been ascribed to Pitt, has been at all times the governing principle of commercial England.

gan to adopt a tone of thinking quite in harmony with the first addresses from America. They began to consider even Catholic emancipation but a very partial remedy for the political and moral evils of Ireland. They looked to a regeneration far more sweeping and decisive: they believed that Ireland had outgrown the connexion, and could now set up for herself. Reasoning on past experience, they were disposed to treat with distrust and contempt all overtures from England. They had in history proof that she had never made concessions to Ireland, except upon compulsion. They looked only to such a crisis as might, by its appalling force, loose the iron grasp altogether, and liberate the country for ever from its dependence. They laughed at any thing less than self-government in its amplest sense;—separation, and republicanism were the two head articles of their political creed. Such a party has within these last three years been rapidly increasing in Ireland; far more formidable than the French party which haunted the imagination of Mr. Grattan, and which he so often denounced in parliament;—it based its projects, not on the fanciful theories of the French revolutionists, but on the practical model which it saw in America, expanding to a greater maturity and

vigour every day before them.* They compared the resources, the advantages, the population, the energies, the intelligence, of the two countries, —they opposed the oppression and wretched-

* What Mr. Grattan said of this French party in 1793, of the causes which produced it, of the motives and principles which directed it, is not altogether inapplicable to the opinions and persons before us. “ They have done this on a surmise, the statement of which would excite our scorn, if its consequences did not produce our apprehensions, that men believing in the real presence cannot be well affected to the house of Hanover ; they have urged this, when the Pretender was extinct, when the power of the Pope was extinct, and when the sting of the Catholic faith was drawn ; they have done this, when a new enthusiasm had gone forth in the place of religion, much more adverse to kings than Popery, and infinitely more prevailing—the spirit of republicanism. At such a time, they have chosen to make the Catholics outcasts of a Protestant monarchy, and leave them no option but a republic : such a policy and such argument tend to make Irish Catholics French republicans ; they aid the cause of proselytism against the cause of kings ; they would drive the Roman Catholics from the hustings, where they might vote without danger, and would send them to plant the tree of liberty on their own hills, where treason, foreign and domestic, may intrigue in a body, kept vacant for all the floating poison of the times to catch and propagate a school for the discontents of both countries and the foreign emissaries, who need not bring any other manifesto than your own code and your own resolutions.”—*Report of Debates of 1793 on the Bill for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects*, p. 255.

ness of one, to the freedom and prosperity of the other: they calculated that there was no other emancipation for Ireland than the absolute assertion of her independence, and that the attempt, if conducted with ordinary prudence and perseverance, quietly husbanding and augmenting their forces, and awaiting with patience the propitious and certain hour for the experiment, could not ultimately fail of the most entire success. The evidences of the existence of such a body were not very striking: accordingly they have escaped both in parliament and out of parliament any direct animadversion; as a distinct party in the state, they do not exist. They are not bound together by any series of concerted measures, tending to any specific purpose, nor have they ever come forward in a collected form to the observation of the Catholic or Protestant public. But there are other bonds, far stronger than resolutions, and votes in public meetings: there is an identity of reasoning, and an identity of feeling, which has been gradually growing up amongst them, unperceived to themselves, not less than to others, and which requires only some great and peculiar occasion to produce an instant coalition, the most formidable perhaps of any which has yet been witnessed in Ireland. This identity, by an attentive observer, may be traced through many of their public speeches;

but a much better proof of its existence may be found in the frankness and fervour of familiar conversation. Amongst the inhabitants of the large commercial towns, particularly amongst the tradesmen, amongst the younger members of the bar, and even of the church, its principles are to be met with in full vigour. From any express declaration of their sentiments they have cautiously abstained: but they have favoured every measure, which could in any way tend to give larger views to the Catholic community, or direct their attention to other grievances, besides those, under which they especially and specifically laboured. Hence, instead of confining themselves to mere relief from the penal laws, they attacked the church; they attacked the corruptions of parliament; they attacked the unfeeling pride of the aristocracy; they attacked the Sub-letting and other bills; and as often as an opportunity admitted, under the question of the repeal of the Union, they went so far, as to attack the connexion with England itself. Many persons of leading influence advocated these same questions, with much more limited intentions, and from an impression that they might, in an indirect manner, advance the great measure, by enlisting the sympathies of all parties in the country in its progress and success. Whether they reasoned rightly in this

particular or not, may admit of some doubt, but their object was clear and palpable, and did not step beyond the ordinary policy of the body. Not so the party of which I am speaking: they took advantage of the discussion, which such questions raised, to propagate their own particular principles. They flattered, in an especial manner, that natural pride of all countries, the love of self-legislation and self-rule; and appealed to passions and to prejudices which had slept, it is true, but had never been thoroughly extinguished in the public mind. The infusion of the vigour and intrepidity of this party, bordering as it frequently did on violence and indiscretion, was not without its use; but an experienced eye might easily discern that the very nature of such qualities would not allow them to stop where they were. Every day more visible proofs were produced of a coming internal revolution in the Catholic body, which would sooner or later lead to the most decisive consequences. It was no longer a contest for the first place in a small debating society, such as the Catholic Committee had formerly been, but for the command and control, without much exaggeration, of no inconsiderable nation. This supremacy was worth ambition; it was worth seeking: it would unquestionably, had the struggle

been prolonged, given rise to the most dangerous and disastrous rivalries. The violent party would ultimately have triumphed over the moderate: the American would have gained the ascendancy over the British. This is in the very nature of things. The appetite grows by what it feeds on, and what at an earlier period had appeared a stimulant of the greatest energy, would have been shortly thrown by as comparatively weak and insipid. This had hitherto been the progress of Catholic affairs: there was no reason why it should not continue to be so in future. Compare O'Connell with John Keogh, and John Keogh with Lord Trimleston, &c. There were already indications every day mounting to the surface, which left no doubt of the full and rapid development of these dangerous elements. O'Connell, who had set out with exciting, was in the latter period of the struggle frequently obliged to moderate, and to allay. This moderation was not the effect of a change in the man, but it was the effect of a change in the men around him. The interposition for a time would doubtless have been regarded. Past services, great experience, habitual command, and numerous adherents, bound by personal as well as public ties, would have, for a long period, assured to him the full enjoyment of his ancient

supremacy. But it is not to be concealed, that that supremacy would soon have declined, without an entire acquiescence in the more vehement propositions of his competitors. Such propositions, as in the commencement of the French revolution, would have been put forward with no other object than to compromise the leader before the people, or the demagogue before the government; and in either case, the proposers would have equally gained. The opposition to their measures would have furnished grounds for impeachment before the multitude, with whom such men, from the very nature of their principles, would soon have become the favourites; or, had he allowed himself to make the base compromise of principle to popularity, they would have gained by the accession of his name and influence the strongest support to their own cause. Any man who has observed the late proceedings of the Catholic Association, with impartiality, cannot have avoided perceiving that such a contest *had actually commenced*: where it would have terminated, may well baffle the speculations of the most sagacious. Reasoning from analogy, it is more than probable that they would ultimately have succeeded in their efforts, and obtained the lead. The consequences are easily to be imagined. They would have be-

come masters of an enormous fund, accumulated from all parts of the New world, and secured beyond the reach of British law: they would have acquired active and intelligent allies, not less secure than the fund itself from the visitations of British justice, in every American who had contributed to it: they would have had in Ireland a highly inflamed population at their beck (for the man who wielded the Association in a popular crisis, would assuredly be enabled to wield the country); and they would, above all, have been under the absolute necessity of surpassing their professions in their conduct, and going on from violence to violence, to the very verge of national revolution. Once on the edge of the precipice, whether they should plunge in or not, would be no longer in their choice. It would entirely depend upon the force by which they were propelled forward. It would depend upon the men behind them. A rebellion would be inevitable. It would not be in human power to prevent it. The conclusion of such a conquest would at least be *doubtful*. No reasonings from former struggles would hold. An entire nation would have become engaged; and a powerful nation would be the encourager, and the ally behind it. Ireland would by steam be brought into immediate contact with

America ; no navy could guard an entire coast ; and unless the entire were guarded, it would be of little importance whether it were guarded at all. The influence of all good men, in such a conflict, would be totally set at nought. Association, clergy, leaders, would be all carried away in the general commotion. They would have no choice but to follow : if they attempted to resist the torrent, the torrent would sweep over them. From such a danger, no other possible mode of security could be discovered than the concession, *in time*, of all just claims of the Roman Catholics. Even as it is, it may well be doubted whether there has not been already too much *delay*. The delay has created a feeling of discontent and speculation ; and this speculation a spirit of *republicanism*, which otherwise, perhaps, would never have existed. It was not to the old principle of Catholic domination the late debaters in either house should have adverted ; not to the anathemas of popes, nor to the interdicts and bans of councils, nor to the burnings of inquisitions, all of which have passed away with tournaments, witches, and coats of armour ; but to this existing, living, augmenting evil, throwing up its fiery gusts from the volcano immediately under their feet. Had things gone on in the state in which they

were, it is quite certain the great mass of the Catholics, at no distant period, would scarcely have thought it worth their while to have continued asking any longer, for what had been so long and so punctiliously refused them. Even as it is, there are many men at this moment, either indifferent or altogether disappointed, at Catholic emancipation. No one measure has tended so decidedly to put the seal to the union of the two countries, or to annihilate, or at least retard, all chance and desire of a national separation.

It was in the midst of these daily evidences of the progress of the cause abroad, that a great public event at home seemed to have abruptly opened the doors of the constitution. The sudden illness of Lord Liverpool produced an immediate change in the cabinet, of which he had been so long the ostensible Premier. The Whigs were again excluded from office, less perhaps from any dislike on the part of the sovereign, or want of adequate support on the part of the people, than from the growing liberality and Whiggism of their opponents. The tactics of administration had been gradually changed, and they foiled their adversaries, not so much by an uncompromising adherence to the old Tory principles, as by an implicit adoption of almost every

amelioration which it had been the glory of the Whigs originally to have introduced. A sort of amalgamation of the two parties took place, and Mr. Canning, after some difficulty, succeeded to the vacant Premiership. The hopes of the Catholics were now raised to the utmost. They had every assurance of the liberal nature of the principles of Mr. Canning, and doubted not that his means were quite commensurate to his will. The Irish have never appeared fully sensible of the innumerable obstacles which have, at all times, existed in every class of English society to the adjustment of their question. In all political arrangements, men are much more to be looked to than measures;—a consideration which altogether escaped the Irish Catholics, who, satisfied with the intrinsic merits of their case, paid no regard to the prejudices or views of individuals.* The thousand modes in which the question has been discussed, are proofs how very various are the motives which produced and guided the opposition to its settlement. If the

* If any thing can enhance the great merit of the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues, it is the having dared to anticipate the slow change of these prejudices amongst the people. He has made them happy in despite of themselves. "Genius of a high and commanding order," says Schiller, "guides the future, rather than follows the past."

Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, commanding the forces of both camps, found the consummation of the measure a task quite equal to their superior advantages, it cannot be a matter of much surprise that Mr. Canning should have found it a subject demanding the most delicate consideration and management. It is a very doubtful question whether, with all the array of his splendid talents, he could have achieved for many years the results which we are at present witnessing. He had marshalled against him, not only the usual opponents to concession, but a large mass of personal hostility and aristocratic prejudice in the Upper House, provoked by the elevation of a commoner, of comparatively plebeian origin, to the first office in the empire. Had Mr. Canning lived, the cause unquestionably would have gained a new impulse ; but it is very possible no attempt would have been made at a final adjustment until every attempt would have been too late. His death saved him from this mortification ; for mortification it surely would have been. He would have had to stand in the false position of mediator between two parties, neither of whom would have finally trusted him, and probably would have fallen, in the fullest confidence of integrity and intellect, between the attacks and distrusts of both.

But he anticipated his fate. Whether it was too deep an apprehension of the difficulties of his situation, or too keen a sensitiveness to the faithlessness of former friends, he sunk in the meridian of his glory, not by visible and gradual decline, but without warning, and at once. The Catholics took his intentions for deeds, and lamented over his tomb, as if he had been their deliverer. Their grief was great—their despondency greater. Lord Goderich seized the reins for an instant: they were too heavy, and he let them fall,—the Duke of Wellington stepped in, grasped them with a firmer hand,—and kept them.

But before the country had been deprived of Mr. Canning, he made a present, it might almost be called a legacy, of inestimable value to Ireland. He appointed the Marquess of Anglesey Lord-Lieutenant, and thus did more for the liberation of that country than had been accomplished or attempted by all the Prime Ministers before him. From that day forth a new era opened for the country. The proximate causes of the great measure had commenced. The Catholics knew not at first the importance of the gift they had received, but a few months were sufficient to discover it.

The Marquess of Wellesley retired from the

administration without any marked testimony of the approbation of either party. This is easily accounted for. He had displeased one, and had not had time to conciliate the other. This was inseparable from his situation, and the period at which he was placed in the government. He had succeeded to an inveterate system of misrule. He formed the link or rather the transition from one mode of governing to the other. He was proportionably incumbered with difficulties. The first alterations took place in the change of the machinery. Justice was rendered less factious and less partisan. A gradual elimination of the intractable and obstinate instruments of former administrations was attempted and achieved. This was much: the links were weakened, but the chain had not yet been broken asunder. For this, time was as requisite as skill; the best intentions were often foiled by apparently the most trifling obstacles. Habits of business, acquaintance with those minor details of practice, which, however contemptible in themselves, are yet essential to the just movement of all governments, gave a factitious importance to the subalterns of the Irish administration. It was impossible to move them from their situations in mass; they knew it; and removing them in part, alarmed, without extin-

guishing them. Hence the *maire du palais* system on a miserable provincial scale was still enacted. The Viceroy was a mere *roi fainéant*, in the most degrading sense of the word, not only without the reality of power, but often without its shadow; scarcely more than an under-secretary of the Home Office, and at the same time exposed to the unceasing surveillance and conspiracy of the very servants who were acting under him. The Government patronised and protected the informers; the informers multiplied under the fostering influence of the Government. The Marquess felt the difficulty of this position: contended against it feebly; of course failed; and was compelled, or was contented to submit.* He did good, but he was

* This is to be taken with qualifications. The Marquess went to Ireland, on the understanding that he was to be allowed to govern with impartiality, that is, that the Catholics were to be allowed the full advantages of all such honours and franchises as they were actually eligible to. At the same time he fully acquiesced in the principle of half measures, and letting things be, for the present, as they were. The very strong objections to concession in a high quarter, and the heterogeneous composition of the cabinet, undoubtedly rendered it very doubtful whether a more open and decided policy would not have been productive of more mischief than good. Lord Wellesley as often acted on principle as on compulsion: but Lord Liverpool ought to have been more candid.

obliged to do it, almost by stealth : at home he had to ask the permission of inferiors ; abroad, to encounter the misinterpretation of his friends. A government so veering between good and bad, could not in the nature of things satisfy *either* party. The Protestants scoffed and sneered at the impotent attempts at liberality. The Catholics, smarting under actual grievance, would make no allowance for mere intentions. They could not look within, and were not sufficiently aware of the doubtful battle which was going on between “ the two principles ” in the cabinet itself. The contest they waged with government the government literally waged with its own strength. It was said indeed, that there were peculiarities of a domestic as well as public nature in the situation of his Excellency, which very considerably enhanced these difficulties. But the true source of these vices was not in the man, but in the administration itself. It was the sudden effort then making to a better system which shook and disordered the whole frame. The crisis had arrived, and with it all its anxiety and inflammation. It is now only that the value of his Viceroyalty is fully understood. The commencements were small and insignificant ; but it was much indeed to have made a commencement.*

* The Secretary, generally speaking, down to the Marquess of Anglesey's government, had constituted the entire

The Marquess of Wellesley was succeeded by a nobleman his opposite in very many particulars. Frank, firm, generous, educated in camps, and unbiassed by the pernicious intrigues, and the narrow views of cabinets, he came to Ireland, not as the servant of any party, but as the impartial guardian of the rights of all, resolved to sacrifice every thing to justice, and to rule for the good of the entire nation, and not in the sense, or for the monopoly of any of the wretched factions which continued to distract it. His feelings were not adverse, but not in favour of the country: he was open to conviction: he was anxious for information: * he was

power and government; the Viceroy, the mere decoration and pageant of Irish administration. The Under-Secretary often ruled the Secretary with as much despotism as the Secretary ruled the Lord Lieutenant. But every thing in Ireland was studiously inverted. This was only the first illustration of a system, which almost reached down to the cabin door.

* Lord Anglesey's opinions at an early period were favourable to Emancipation. He vacated his seat in Parliament in 1803, when Mr. Pitt went out of office, in consequence of the obstacles he met with in his attempt to bring forward the measure. Subsequently he opposed concession, from a misapprehension (natural under the circumstances) of the conduct and intentions of the Catholic leaders. But previous to his departure for Ireland, he had taken the utmost pains minutely to inform himself of the real state of

desirous of making up opinions for himself, and not of taking them second-hand, as had hitherto been the case, from the false reporters who stood between the country and the Castle. A few short months of inquiry from all parties, of fair and honest observation, with no object but the discovery of truth upon all sides, laid open to his calm and clear mind the real malady of the country. He was not a man to stop at secondary symptoms: he went to the internal seat of the disease: he probed it, he proved it, and had the courage to point it out, and to press it again and again upon those, in whose hands lay the certain and immediate cure. No praise can be too high for this species of moral chivalry: it is the noblest conflict in which a high-minded and

Ireland. His inquiries were not confined to one party. He consulted not only the ministry who had appointed him, but the Liberals and Whigs to whom he had been opposed. A sort of domestic or friendly committee (if it can so be called), of the most distinguished political characters of the day, sate upon the subject. He listened,—he treasured up,—he planned for himself, a rule of future conduct. That no mistake should possibly occur, he had interviews with Lord Wellington, and subsequently with his Majesty. His intentions of governing in a sense very different from those who had preceded him, were frankly and warmly avowed. In these intentions he left England. He was not long in Ireland before he realised them.

honourable nature can be engaged : the victory was well worthy of the contest ; it is the highest which a citizen can enjoy, or a patriot could have conferred. Ireland required such a man. He was the first viceroy who, since Lord Fitzwilliam, seems to have fully understood her character, and devoted himself with real and heartfelt earnestness, to her cause. By far too many of her former rulers reasoned and felt about her, as about a country whose sole utility was, the providing them with the means of bettering or retrieving their fortunes. They came to plunder, or to economise ; gathered up their vintage, and then, like the inhabitants of Naples, turned away from the sides of the volcano. But the Marquess of Anglesey thought of the country first, and of himself last,—this, and this only, was the secret of his power. No man ever ruled Ireland so completely, yet he ruled her with a silken thread. He seized fully the national heart, and after that, every thing was easy. Mutual esteem, mutual attachment, was the bond : he was the best servant at the same time of the sovereign, and the most popular leader of the people.

The first mention of his name in Ireland excited a momentary triumph on one side and the deepest despondency on the other. The false

universally roused in the Catholic body. But frequent interruptions and deficiencies were still observable, calling for the active and judicious interference of the leaders. The Rent still continued to be partially collected; and though the country had been repeatedly promised, in the opening of the budget of each year, that 50,000*l.* could with certainty be counted upon, the deficit still remained unredeemed, and no measures yet adopted had provided for the evil; either an adequate, or permanent cure. These deficiencies, too, had not originated from the people themselves: whenever they were called upon by their clergy, or the members of the Association, or the principal landholders of the parish, the people on all occasions evinced a zeal, which outstript the most sanguine anticipations. But the system was radically bad: it had been left too much to the option and guidance of individuals: in some parishes it had been collected with great regularity for months; in others not at all. This unequal distribution produced two evils; the unjust application of the burden to one portion of the community, and the interruption of that chain of communication, which, to be thoroughly effective, ought to have extended from one extremity of the country to the other. The Census was equally

neglected, or imperfect. Waterford, at an early period, had been carefully and minutely investigated. Dr. Kelly, with his characteristic activity and intelligence, had immediately directed his instructions to every clergyman in his diocese; and was, I believe, the first prelate who presented a complete census of the population to the Association. But his example had not been followed with equal zeal in other parts of Ireland. By far the greater number of the dioceses lay still unexamined; and the parish Census, which had been handed in from time to time, did not furnish sufficient data to form any correct or generalised opinion of the Catholic statistics of Ireland. There was another object, which, of late, had not sufficiently occupied the attention of the Catholic Association. The interests of Catholic education had been passed over, in the larger and more engrossing interests of the body. The Kildare Place establishments had extended, and in many places had succeeded in introducing, that spirit of proselytism, which now was openly avowed in the most remote parts of the country. Irish teachers had been employed by the Biblicals, and controversy brought down, with all its multitudinous evils, to the peasant's hearth. It was a matter of great interest to the Catholic Associa-

tion to ascertain the extent and progress of this system. They could not with propriety apply to the clergyman of the parish, occupied as he necessarily must be with numerous and more important duties, for information, upon all these heads; and little expectation of regular communication could be entertained, from the secretaries of counties, or the usual members of the Rent committees. Mr. O'Connell, with great sagacity, undertook to remedy these evils, and proposed, for the adoption of the Association, an excellent arrangement, perfectly well calculated to meet all difficulties. He suggested the immediate appointment of two Catholic churchwardens in each parish, to be selected from the resident parishioners (the tradesmen, intelligent farmers, &c., to be preferred), one to be in the appointment of the parish priest, the other to be elected in vestry, by the parish. The duties of these officers were then traced out. They were required to furnish short monthly reports, after a formula, extremely simple and concise, sent down to them by the Association, of the progress of the Rent, the Census, the amount of the tithes, the church cess, &c., the establishment of Kildare Place schools, the progress of proselytism, in their respective neighbourhood, &c. &c. The freeholders still continued

to be ejected from their holdings, and otherwise persecuted, in several of the lately contested counties. The Churchwardens were commissioned to make every due inquiry into such persecution, and to report the same, in gross (leaving the details to the clergyman or the freeholder himself), in his monthly return to the Association. To give greater extension to the proceedings of the Association, they were farther employed with great judgment, as vehicles for the circulation of the public papers. A Weekly Register was sent down to each of the Churchwardens, every Saturday, containing the amplest report of the speeches and resolutions of the Tuesday and Thursday meetings of the Association. They were not intended for their own exclusive use, but for such of the parishioners also as might be sufficiently educated to read them. On Sunday they were read aloud at the chapel door, and then filed by the Churchwardens. It is quite incredible the anxiety for political information which this diffusion of the public prints generated in every part of Ireland.* The entire public gaze became in-

* The newspaper stamps in 1818 amounted to 19,080; in 1827, to 25,452. Yet the number of papers circulated is by no means commensurate with the wants of the people of Ireland.

stantly fixed on every measure of the Association; the debates of parliament were passed over: the only parliament which the people seemed to recognise, the only names with which their feelings were associated, were the Parliament, and names of the Catholic Association. For weeks afterwards, passages of those speeches could be heard, accompanied with the shrewdest comments from the mouth of the humblest peasant in the country: these were the commencements: the system, as we shall see later, was in a very short time perfected. A little before the dissolution of the body, the number of copies of the Weekly Register sent to the country amounted to six thousand. The nation had become a nation of politicians: not a single chapel which had not its lecturer, not a single lecturer which had not thousands for his audience.

The reports, in proportion as they came in, were arranged, circulated, and preserved for future reference, by the Secretary of the Churchwardens, Mr. Maurice O'Connell; and every hope was entertained that in a few years they would not only have furnished a complete body of information, but trained the people to the keenest habits of political observation. On the side of the Association, the advantages were

scarcely less considerable. It gave the body the most certain and immediate mode, which had yet been adopted, of communication with every part of the country, and very greatly advanced that system of combination, which had been the chief object of the institution of the Rent,—the Census,—and the Simultaneous Meetings. It was more peaceable, and less ostentatious, but perhaps not less effective, than any of those measures, and added new claims to the very many which Mr. O'Connell's services had already had upon the gratitude of the country.

But, it was observed, when these officers came to act, a great deal too much was confided to one person, and the country was too dependent upon the zeal of an individual for its advancement. In some parishes no elections took place—in others they were delayed—in others the authority confided to their hands was exercised with too little moderation, and was finally rejected by a portion, or the entire of the parishioners. Interruptions of course followed, &c. &c. But these were not evils of such magnitude, as to require the addition or substitution of new machinery. The additions which were subsequently made, originated from a different principle. The late elections, combined with the proceedings of the Association, had gene-

rated in the most distant districts the desire of attacking not only those greater wrongs, which weighed with the same pressure on the entire community, but those minor, but far more bitter evils, which affected the local relations of each citizen, and came close, in the transactions of every day, to his own hearth and home. To watch these comparatively domestic oppressions, and to devise means for their redress, was not always in the power of a body whose sittings were held at a distance, and whose views were necessarily too ample and too national, to take in the especial grievances of each particular town. It occurred to Mr. Wyse that no more efficient remedy for these wants could for the present be imagined, than the institution of such local or county associations, as might, by compressing into a narrower focus all the local knowledge, vigour, and patriotism of each particular place, and directing them against those abuses, more immediately tend to weaken the system in all its several parts, and bring home to every anti-Catholic in the country the pressing and personal conviction, that "something must be done, and that things could no longer be permitted to remain as they were." But this was but a small portion of the objects which Mr. Wyse had in view. He was sensible, that the institu-

tion of such separate and local bodies, each apparently with its independent and distinct jurisdiction, might interfere with the simple and comprehensive authority of the Association. He obviated this inconvenience, and extended to the project a more ample and national character. There were great defects in the actual organization of the Association, as far as order and symmetry, just connexion and perfect subordination of parts, were concerned. He suggested the establishment of a new arrangement for the entire system. 1st. That the Association should continue the Head club, committee, or association: 2dly. That in each county there should be established a similar association or club, under the immediate control of the Association: 3dly. That in each parish there should be formed a similar club or association, under the immediate control of the county club,—thus rising by just gradations, chain linked within chain, from a group of peasants in the lowest hamlet in the land, until at last it terminated in the full assembly of the Catholic Association. The Parish Clubs were organised with a just reference to the objects and character of the persons who were intended to compose them. They were formed of the gentry, the clergymen, the reading farmers (for

reading was a necessary condition for admission), resident in each parish. The subscription was trifling, sufficient to pay for a weekly paper; they elected their own officers; president, secretary, treasurer, and were committed to the control and guidance of the Secretary of the County Club. The greater part of the clergymen and gentlemen were again members of the County Club; and these represented the wishes and feelings of their respective parishes. Finally, most members of the County clubs were again members of, and attended at intervals, the Catholic Association. In the cities, this organization required some slight modification. The Club appointed two committees; one of Inquiry, the other of Management. The Committee of Inquiry made inquiries into all the objects for which these associations were originally instituted, and reported the result of their investigations, at their weekly meetings, to the Committee of Management, who took measures thereon. The Rent collectors were admitted honorary members of the Committee of Inquiry, and were employed most efficiently, from their local knowledge, in procuring all materials which might be necessary for the information and guidance of the Committee of Management. A general meeting of the Club was convened

every month, to receive the joint report of both Committees (which was afterwards transmitted to the Association), and to take such measures, as they might deem most judicious, to carry their suggestions into effect. The plan was sanctioned by the Association, and instantly put into execution. In every County in Munster, and in most counties in Leinster and Connaught, Liberal Clubs were unanimously established. The County Clubs when organised, set about the establishment of their Parish Clubs. There was thus, without representation, a system which more than fully answered all the purposes of representation, rising simultaneously in every part of Ireland. In a few years this system would have been perfected without any extraordinary effort, either on the part of the leaders, or of the people. What every one sees done every day, and on every side, they will find no difficulty in doing at last by themselves. The people had already been so well disciplined by Rent, Provincial, and Simultaneous Meetings, that they scarcely required any farther instruction in order to organise the Liberal Clubs. Wherever they were originated, in a few weeks every member became familiar with the machinery, and qualified to communicate it, and to see it executed, by

others. There was thus one simple, uniform, and permanent system, extending in regular subordination, like the anatomy of the human body, to every extremity of the land, animated and directed by its head, or heart, the Catholic Association of Ireland.*

The influence of these clubs was soon felt. A much more intelligible and graduated union began to exist amongst all classes of Catholics. The Association obtained a more visible supremacy,—a much more manageable description of power. The results to individuals were scarcely less beneficial. The Parish Club opened a safety valve for that gas of political fervour, which had been so long generating at large throughout the body. All private feuds and injurious dissensions were controlled by its order. The mind of the peasant was directed exclusively towards the wrongs of his country. The objects of the Club were generally stated to be, the extension of constitutional knowledge, the propagation of liberal feeling amongst all classes and persuasions, but above all, the suppression of private quarrel, and *the most exact*

* Juvenile Clubs were also instituted in Limerick, Clare, &c., and subsequently imitated in various parts of America. Their influence, had the contest been prolonged, would have been very great.

obedience to the very letter of the law. This was the front and head of every instruction—of every letter—of every speech,—until what had appeared a miracle at the election of Waterford, had now become a habit, and no more a matter of surprise than if it had been an original portion of the peasant's nature. Under the protection of this perfect submission to all just authority, they omitted no occasion of attacking, by every constitutional means, abuse and grievance, wherever it was to be found. All complaints were forwarded to the County Club; if possible, redressed there—if not, forwarded with applications for redress to the Association. Thus was there produced in every county, an active war of constitutional and peaceable resistance, and every antagonist made sensible in his own person of the evils of that monopoly, which he had so long attempted, for personal advantage, to uphold.

It was quite obvious that such a state of things could not last long without producing, in some form or other, a reaction. The anti-Catholics began to be alarmed, or affected to be so, and (as in the instance of the Waterford election) consented to recur to the very tactics of that very body which for the last two years had been the theme of their unceasing sneer

and invective. The organization of the Liberal Clubs is said to have suggested the institution of those counter or anti-Catholic Clubs, which rather infelicitously assumed the name of Brunswick. Their founders should have recollected (the history was recent), that from the house of Brunswick the Catholics had obtained whatever concessions they actually enjoyed, and that it appeared somewhat anomalous to invoke *against* concession, the very name to whose benignant auspices all former concession had been due. The first commencement of the system arose in Dublin. A general meeting was convened of the entire anti-Catholic interest, and after much in-door debating, a series of rules and regulations were at last published, for the future government of the body.* Several names were

* Great division of opinion—natural where the party itself was so divided—was evinced both at the preliminary meeting, and at the meeting for the organization of the club. The Rev. Thomas Magee, son of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Rev. Charles Boyton, fellow of Trinity College, the two Sheehans, editors of the Dublin Mail, wished to pledge the body to an eternal hostility to every species of concession, no matter how modified. Others, less fanatic, or more disinterested, and certainly more judicious, proposed to confine themselves to a declaration that the Brunswick Club had formed solely for purposes of self-defence. There were various shades between these two extremes, according to the

soon added to the list of members—very considerable contributions poured in,—and the old Protestant spirit, at the Derry cry of “No Surrender,” seemed once more to have rallied from its slumber. The meeting in Dublin was at various intervals followed up, by a succession of similar meetings, in every county and city in the country. Parish Clubs, in some instances, were also established in communication with the County Clubs, in the same manner as the County Clubs were put into communication with the general Brunswick Club of Ireland. The ana-

variety of motives—fear, hatred, ignorance, prejudice, &c. which influenced the several speakers. After much altercation, a compromise was effected. A series of comparatively moderate resolutions were acceded to; but the principle of disunion remained behind. The subsequent resolutions of the Branch Clubs, in other parts of Ireland, are strongly contrasted to each other. Some are canting and conciliating; they talk of their affection and solicitude for their Roman Catholic brethren! others full of alarm: the days of 1641 seemed to have returned; others again are furious and frenzied, flaming with menaces of rebellion, carnage, and open civil war. But all this was perfectly well understood, both by friends and foes. It was at first a question of unqualified opposition—it soon became a question of terms and conditions. It was thought the more they blustered, the more would be conceded. But they had to do with uncontrollable circumstances. Terms were no longer within their reach.

logy between the two systems may be traced still farther in the published rules, but the principle and operation of each were extremely different. The Catholic Association grew out of the passions, the wrongs, the wishes, of the vast majority of the people; the Brunswick Club was a new mode of expressing old opinions; the last effort of an oligarchical knot, anxious to retain the hereditary exclusive system of privilege and monopoly, by giving to government and the English nation the false appearance of a determined armed resistance, in case it should presume to interfere with its enjoyment. They were the besieged, and the Catholics the besiegers; they were the minority, the Catholics the majority: both were consequently affected by the advantages and disadvantages of their relative positions. The smaller a party is, the more vigorous its measures, the more close and perfect its combination; but this general rule, in the present instance, suffered many exceptions. The Catholics, by long discipline, had acquired the precision and union of a small party: the largest masses, as in a well-regulated army, were moved with as much facility and certainty as the smallest. They had seen service, and were veterans in these tactics. The Protestants,

on the contrary, were comparatively raw recruits, unused to the habits of the regular soldier.* But the Catholics had many other circumstances, of far higher import, in their favour. They had that untameable spirit of perseverance, which is the child of obstacle and delay,—they had the profound and living conviction that the fortress of the enemy must at last fall: they had, above all, the elevating enthusiasm of men, who fight not with selfish or factious motives, for private or partial ends, but with a really noble spirit, for a really glorious object—the rights of many millions of men, the extension of the blessings of a free constitution to generations yet unborn, the equa-

* One of the greatest disadvantages under which they laboured, arose from the very nature of the elements of which these bodies were formed. Most of the Brunswick Clubs, particularly in the South, were composed of *gentlemen*. They had no co-operators amongst the *people*. This looked “respectable,” but such bodies are without any real use. Gentlemen are not easily induced to ride ten or twenty miles in order to attend committees, the purposes of which are not very obvious, and the attendants on which must of course be very few. Accordingly, scarcely any of these clubs held a third meeting. They would have expired of inanition, like the New Reformation societies, in another year. The Catholics were otherwise situated—they had wrongs and numbers to keep them alive.

lization of society throughout all its branches, and the peace of a nation, and the security of an empire, which had continued for centuries one unbroken scene of discord and of danger. “*Nos pro libertate, pro patriâ, pro vitâ, certamus, illis supervacaneum est, pugnare pro potentiâ paucorum.*” The power also, which the anti-Catholics possessed, and the power which they hoped to aggregate to their body, by this sudden excitement, was very greatly exaggerated.* They had

* The Protestant census of 1821 exhibits a total population of 6,801,487, of which 4,838,000 were stated to be Catholics, and 1,963,487 Protestants. Mr. Shaw Mason’s returns from the clergy in 1814, on which I have already animadverted, allow a still greater proportion in favour of the Protestant interest. Of late years, however, it is well known there has been great diminution by emigration and otherwise, (see statements of Protestants, *Mr. Seymour’s speech, Mr. Peel’s speech on the second reading of the Relief bill, &c.*) and that the Catholics, by purchase of lands, &c. have proportionably augmented. Even in the old corporate towns, and those parts of the North which from their contiguity to Scotland have hitherto been supposed to be exclusively Protestants, the Catholic population has been very rapidly gaining ground upon the Protestant. This has been remarkably the case in Derry, Belfast, &c.; in the South the same causes of course work with a greatly increased activity. Mr. O’Connell, as has been already remarked, from the returns of the Catholic census furnished from the commencement of the New Catholic Association to the 14th

not the millions with them; even the government census, a census taken when the government was

of June 1828 inclusive, calculated even in Ulster two Catholics to one Protestant, and in Munster twenty-one Catholics to one Protestant. But this calculation excluded the great towns, and is confined to one-sixth only of the population, therefore liable to precisely the same objections that have been urged against Mr. Shaw Mason's report. The conclusions drawn from these premises are also extreme. Mr. O'Connell calculates the population of Ireland to amount actually to nearly ten millions. Mr. Malthus's theory would give something approaching to nine millions a conjecture by no means improbable; of these nine millions, eight millions nearly ought to be Catholics. The Catholics of course must increase from physical and moral causes, far more rapidly than the Protestants. A population of eight millions forms a considerable nation, far surpassing most of the kingdoms on the Continent. The kingdom of the Netherlands, comprising Holland, Flanders, &c. has not more than 5,600,000 inhabitants; Austria Proper not more than 5,200,000; Bavaria not more than 3,750,000, &c.; Saxony not more than 1,260,000. There are many indeed who do not admit this augmentation to have been so rapid or considerable, and some recent calculators have attempted to reduce the present Catholic population of Ireland to about 5,500,000, and to raise the Protestant to 1,350,000; but this census is glaringly incorrect, and cannot cohere either with theory, or experience. These errors have arisen, partly from the prejudices of rival sects, and partly from measuring the increase in Ireland by the same scale as that which is applied to most other anciently civilised communities. The only country with which it can be compared, is America; and what Mr.

anti-Catholic, gave a vast preponderance to the Roman Catholic population. There was little hope that by any effort of theirs this preponderance could be lessened: once the balance is swayed from its equilibrium, it descends rapidly. They had then to rely upon the population of another country for support. They knew that

Burke once applied with so much truth, under parallel circumstances, to that country, is at this moment scarcely less applicable to Ireland. He stated, when concession to America was under discussion, that the population of America amounted to two millions and a half. This calculation was thought overrated. He continued: "This, Sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate, where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high or too low, is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world, that state the numbers as high as we will, whilst the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends: whilst we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it: whilst we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have more millions to manage."—*Speech, March 22nd, 1775.* The justice of the above conjectures is put, however, beyond a doubt by much surer data, the synoptical tables of the population of Ireland from 1672 to 1821, published frequently. (See *Moreau's Statistical Tables*, p. 4. *Sadler's Ireland, its Evils, and their Remedies*, p. 5, &c. &c.) They give a great increase; but there is reason to suppose that if the census had been more carefully taken, the result would have been still greater.

population to be honest and equitable ; but they also knew it to be but very partially informed of the state of Ireland, and attached to ancient prejudice with unexampled pertinacity. This ignorance it was easy to deceive, these prejudices it was still more easy to excite. They employed for both purposes the old instruments of reckless misrepresentation, and violent menace and abuse.* They could allow

* The great instrument of Brunswick power was the corrupt press. It was conducted generally by the lowest description of Castle underlings. They were considered identified with the government ; and there were times, in the history of Ireland, when such opinion was just. All the partisans of old monopoly, every person however remotely connected with office, expectants in every form, but above all, and on all occasions, the church, formed the great mass of its subscribers. They thought themselves bound by their allegiance and loyalty, " to aid the hands of government," by giving as much support and circulation to its *real* opinions (as they termed them) as was in their power. The circulation in Ireland was immense ; in England by no means inconsiderable. The funds of the party were expended in forwarding it to every inn of any note, however distant, in the sister kingdom. As regard to accuracy and truth, it may easily be imagined, was not amongst its characteristics. Speeches were made for men who never spoke, small parties were converted into immense meetings, clubs, armies, &c. &c. In the King's County, a small family group, a few brothers and brothers-in-law, assembled. The supple-

themselves a far greater latitude, they imagined, in these arts than the Catholic, for they fought under the protection of far higher powers. Upon this protection they principally relied. They believed the government to be still neutral in the old sense of the word. Mr. Peel had already very amply explained the meaning of such neutrality. The Lord Lieutenant, who did the forms of the office, was allowed to be liberal; but the efficient officers of government had *carte blanche* for the full exercise of all the ancient hostility. The face was for the Catholic; but the intimate feeling, the heart's core, was for his enemy. In this manner, by a faction within a faction, Ireland had long been governed. The petitioner at the Castle did not ask what the Lord Lieutenant thought, but what the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, or rather what his Secretary's Secretary thought. It was not Lord Wellesley, nor even Mr. Goulburn, but it was Mr. Gregory who held in his hands the destinies of Ireland. The magistrate who was censured by

ment of the next Evening Mail was filled with the important proceedings, and orations of two columns in length given to the eloquent movers and seconders of the resolutions. But a lie that lasts for a single day, will do its work. When the ends were such, it is futile to quarrel about the means. (See *Appendix*.)

the Viceroy had nothing to apprehend, if the censure were not also confirmed by the frown of his servant: there was always a secret appeal from the council chamber of the sovereign to the office desk of the clerk. This machinery in former times had been found omnipotent; there was no reason to think that its power had recently been curtailed. Lord Anglesey, it was true, had already begun to evince a resolution of taking the sword and balance into his own hands, but this had been the usual commencement of every preceding viceroyalty. The determination soon slackened; sooner or later every Lord Lieutenant found himself successively compelled to submit, in his own despite, to the irresistible power of this secret ascendancy. The anti-Catholic party well knew that it borrowed its life from another source, beyond the control of the Roman Catholic. Mr. Peel himself had avowed, that even during the seemingly liberal viceroyalty of Lord Wellesley, he had taken care to neutralise the Catholic principle, by the intermixture of his own anti-Catholic influence.* They doubted not that the Mr.

* The secret working of this machinery is but very partially known. Neither the Marquess of Wellesley nor Mr. Peel is so much to blame as is generally supposed. Neither was fairly dealt with.

Peel of 1828 and 1829 was the Mr. Peel of 1825 and 1826. They looked to the government of England for support. They imagined that the Duke of Wellington waited only such full expression of anti-Catholic feeling, as might give the semblance of Irish Protestant sympathy to the measures of his cabinet; and this once developed, he would then put out that vigorous spirit of coercion, which was so much wanted, and reduce the Irish Catholics again to the same state of servitude which had immediately followed the violent retaliations of 1798. There was some ground, it must be repeated, for these conclusions; they reasoned strictly, after former experience. Such *had been* the mode of misgoverning Ireland for many centuries; nor was there any thing, in the more recent professions or opinions of the cabinet, to prove that it had ceased.*

* “At qui sunt hi,” says the historian, of a party not very unlike them at Rome, “at qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi: quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est. Metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere: quos omnis eadem cupere, odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit; sed hæc inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordia, quæ spes? Dominari illi

There was another very important superiority which the Catholics enjoyed over their antagonists. Their views were clear and simple; boldly avowed; felt universally; and in the same sense, and at the same time, by the entire body. The Brunswick meetings (as we have had occasion to notice) were close; their projects mitigated, disguised, distorted; shame in some, apprehension in others, lent them the most varied colouring. Their opinions were of all hues; they ran into the most opposite extremes. Some were for blind and reckless extermination,—for the coarse and cruel remedy of blood. These were the licensed and legalised executioners of the vengeance of their party during the last rebellion; they had tasted blood, and the passion had become inveterate. But this was the rankness of a bad nature, and had nothing to do with plan or project. It exhaled itself in delirious invectives and invocations, in appeals to a power which no longer existed, and for objects which could no longer, by any party, be endured. They were few, but prominent; the first at all meet-

volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias; vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus par, aut amicitia esse? Sallustii Jugurtha, c. 31.

ings, and the last; wherever they were, the loudest,—and whenever loudest, received with most applause. This was the faction which the Catholics considered irreclaimable, and only to be met with the *ultima ratio* of the sword.* A second class, who constituted much the larger portion of the party, were the merely ignorant, and the merely timid. Their timidity arose from their ignorance, and their ignorance from their distance and separation from the Catholics. They were afraid of the ghost, which a moral illusion, as deceptive as a physical one, had

* “9th Resolution. That this club, being founded on defensive principles, disclaims the application of party, and proposes no *personal* hostility to any class of his Majesty’s subjects,” &c.—*Resolutions of Edenduffearick Constitutional Club*. “That while we are determined to uphold the principles of the present constitution, we disclaim all intention of hostility towards our Roman Catholic countrymen,” &c.—*Resolutions of Coote Hill Constitutional Brunswick Club*. “That in establishing this club we are not actuated by a feeling of hostility, but of cordial good-will towards our Roman Catholic neighbours and fellow-subjects, whose real interests, no less than our own, will be best secured by the continuance of the existing constitution.”—*Resolutions of Killyman Constitutional Brunswick Club*. There are innumerable other instances of this wretched cant; see *Appendix*. It was with some such formula that the Spaniards put their Jews and Indians to death; all “for their real interests.”

conjured up. They talked of standing on their defence; of granting the Catholic every thing, but what they could not grant consistently with their own security; and of loving him as a man and hating him as a citizen; with numerous other incoherencies, proofs still stronger than the preceding of the pernicious lunacy which then infected so large a portion of the public mind.* A third party was better informed, and somewhat more rational; they used both—the ignorance of one party, and the ferocity of the other—for their own private ends. They had too just an estimate of the progress of moral and political revolutions, not to know that it was not in the power of any man, or any body of men, to pre-

* “ John Basilowitz was learned for the time he lived in, and particularly in matters of religion, for which reason he would never suffer any to be persecuted for their belief, knowing that conviction must come from reason and conscience, and not from violence and torture, which may make men hypocrites, but cannot make them good Christians.

“ The Jews, however, he could not endure; he thought that those who had betrayed and killed the Redeemer of the world ought not to be trusted, or even tolerated by any prince who professed himself a Christian; and in consequence of this opinion, he obliged them either to be baptised or to quit his dominions. But he ought to have considered that the Jews of his time were not accessory to the crime of their ancestors.”—*Universal History*.

vent, though by a great deal of ingenuity they might delay, the claims or wishes of so large a portion of any civilised community. They looked not to a victory (now impossible), but to *better terms*. The question had at last become one of mere capitulation. They thought that by taking the opposite extreme, the government, when compelled to an adjustment, as they admitted must sooner or later be the case, would adopt a middle term between Protestant apprehensions on the one hand, and Catholic encroachment on the other.* In this they reasoned after the

* Any gentleman who has had the opportunity of mixing much with both parties, must of course have observed that there was a public tone and a private tone of thinking and speaking, and that the latter, for the most part, was very considerably, in force and energy, below the former. The most violent demagogues of the Association, when closely examined, were found to be not altogether the untameable hyenas they were usually represented. Many have left their company declaring with amazement, that their claws were not longer nor their teeth sharper than those of other people. So it was with many of the most angry of their opponents. Men coming from North, and South-East, and West, at last agreed in the same point. They generally commenced with the most outrageous invectives, and as generally concluded with the peace-maker "If"—"If the Catholics would only give up the forty-shilling franchise, &c. &c.—why then"—When the question came to that, it was already conceded. All farther discussion was mere

usual practice of human nature, and it is not quite certain whether such reasonings have not in some degree been justified by the result. A fourth party, mingling amongst all, belonging to none, but successively confounded with each, were those who, having been accustomed from an early period to act in parties, could not well detach themselves, in the present instance, from their old habits, or companions. It was not an affair of prejudice, or of thought. It was a matter of relationship—of acquaintanceship—of mere indolence—of want of thought. A few violent leaders started up, cheered—commanded—denounced. The liberal Protestant party were not yet in the field. The neutrals having no neutral camp to fall back upon, and none but the Association and the Brunswick Club to choose between, allowed themselves to be frightened or seduced, or sometimes dropped quietly away, without almost knowing it, into the ranks of the anti-Catholics. Many of these were very excellent men; in private life, ornaments to their rank and station; in public, good citizens, as far as the laws would permit them; and sincerely desirous from their general habits for the pacification and happiness of all parties, though squabbling about the more or less of an unavoidable bargain.

comparatively unacquainted with the means by which such objects might best be effected. In this new society they often felt themselves as much strangers probably as they would have done in the Catholic Association. All these heterogeneous materials were however hurried together by the suddenness and violence of the impulse; and though they presented at first a face of compact and massive strength, the close observer might easily have detected the repulsion and the incoherence which lurked and fermented below.

It was quite clear that the moment the external compressing power was removed, or the false support on which they leant in the government had begun to be withdrawn, that all this organization would necessarily crumble before such numerous internal repellents, and resolve itself rapidly into those more congenial elements from which it had originally been forced. But the Protestant population, either in England or in Ireland, did not regard it in this light, and it was upon this delusion only that the momentary power of the Brunswickers was suddenly constructed. But such delusions cannot and ought not to last; the mist of the morning disappears before noon. Truth, in a writing and reading nation, will sooner or later struggle through every

misrepresentation. The cause of the Catholic had worked itself through far greater obstacles. It is on its first entry, and not in its progress, that you can stop the wedge.

The Catholics themselves were first indignant, then alarmed, then gradually satisfied, and at last gratified at the array which was brought against them. They saw in it another travesty of the old faction. Orangeism had been branded even by the laws, and required a new disguise to give it currency. The old hatred and abhorrence, they knew, still existed. They felt, in the burning of their chapels, in the licensed midnight murders, in the authorised stands of arms which were retained in their villages, and the sort of irregular martial law which was exercised by the Protestant yeomanry, in the most populous districts in Ulster, that there still existed an unavowed political confederacy secretly banded against them, from whose grasp, neither personal resistance, nor the feeble and partial efforts of the law, could effectually accomplish their rescue. They considered it a benefit, this change from the secret ambush to the open field. Their enemies did for them, what they had often attempted of themselves to do in vain—voluntarily throw off the mask, and marked themselves down incontestably for un-

disguised foes. As to their violence, there were few amongst the Catholics who had very legitimate reasons to complain of the mode in which they expressed it. Bubbles there will be in fermenting waters, and it is out of the nature of things, that wherever passion or turbulence are, they should not soon find a thousand tongues to give them vent and name. But they complained, and justly complained, of the causes which produced this violence. A suffering man has some apology in the common feelings of human nature for his exclamations,—not so the man who inflicts the suffering. It is but a poor motive to cry out, because he is not permitted to inflict more. But there was a paramount advantage in all this, which compensated for every evil, and soon began to impress itself upon every dispassionate observer. The organization, now in progress, must either very rapidly subside, or else become so general, as to divide the nation into two distinct armies, preserving indeed the tranquillity and order of a well-disciplined population, but at any time ready to rush into immediate collision, whenever a favourable opportunity should present itself. The neutrals were diminishing and withdrawing day after day from the dangerous ground, and the country was thus surrendered up to either host. The government, which

from indolence or fear had staved off as long as they could, the hour of decision, would (it was quite clear) in their own despite, be compelled to decide for either party. This crisis must sooner or later arrive; the sooner, the greater chance of pressing through it with favourable symptoms. Every hour parties were acquiring habits more difficult to be thrown off; the country was more and more taught to look for alliances elsewhere. If the Brunswicker turned to England, the Catholic turned to America. The question became complicated with new demands, or new securities, after every battle which was lost or won, and the government incurred a more difficult task, and a heavier responsibility, at every step. These were things which struck every man who for a moment could place himself sufficiently high above either party as to be enabled to embrace both.* A judicious politician could not regret the

* Lord Chief Justice Hale, in his life of Atticus, has conjecturally described almost every feature of this alarming position. The reader might fancy he was speaking of Ireland. "When two or more great parties in a state engage one against another, *accusing publicly each other, each soliciting others to be of their party, at length using discriminations or habits or signs*, and possibly in a little time *public affronts and rencounters*, and at last it may be *open hostility*, and all this while the true real governors of that state,

hurrying on to this inevitable conclusion. The Brunswick Clubs effectually did this, and they did much more, they made it felt in the sorest and most intimate manner to the very government. They heard every hour from both parties, "that concession or coercion was now unavoidable." They at last returned the same answer to the country. The alternative still depended upon themselves; in another year the selection

whether monarch or senate, sit still and look on, it may be out of respect to some of the heads of either party, it may be out of policy to suffer either party to worry and weaken and ruin one another, hoping thereby to preserve the government, or it may be out of a weak and tame and inconsiderate opinion, contenting themselves with the name or external face, title and ensigns of government, and the professed respects of either party, but not daring to interpose any acts of real authority to suppress or remedy those growing mischiefs, fearing they should not be able to carry it through in respect of the potency of parties; and so the governors stand and look on, contenting themselves with the compliments and professions of subjection by both parties, till at last one party getting the better of the other, lays by the disguise of pretended subjection, and gives the law to his awful governors, and makes him do what he pleases or suffer what he inflicts. And this commonly is the mischief that attends a government, that suffers faction to grow so great, that at last they become masterless, and either by conjunction of both parties, or prevalence of one, give the law to their lawful governors."

would have been beyond their power. The two armies would have soon cut short all delay ; the entire nation would have plunged forward, blind, and headlong into open combat.

The anti-Catholics were on the defence—the Catholics on the attack—they had the choice of measures, an enormous advantage. Their organization was now complete. They waited only for an opportunity to apply it. They were not long condemned to suspense. A great occasion, from a quarter least expected, an occasion which generated a series of proceedings, the proximate causes of the recent great measure, sprung out of the existing state of the country. It was a new event in the history of the constitution—it was new in the history of Ireland. It was not the result of project, or preparation. Like the Waterford election, it was matter of hazard that it was ever thought of ; but, like the Waterford election, the manner in which that thought was seized and acted on, has gone far to decide the future destinies of Ireland.

One of the first measures which the Catholics adopted, on the accession of Lord Wellington to the Premiership, was a series of resolutions, under the name of Pledges, directed not so much against the Premier specifically, as against his

administration. The Duke was then believed (and there was nothing in his parliamentary declarations which controverted the belief) to be still hostile to the cause of Emancipation. That the Catholics, on such impressions, were justified in withdrawing from him all confidence, appears unquestionable. It was on a similar principle that the late elections had been contested ; it is on a similar principle that all parties are usually formed, in either House of parliament. No one, of course, ever contemplated the continuance of such distrust, beyond the existence of the hostility which had created it. It was directed, not against the Duke of Wellington, but against a presumed enemy. The Catholics, acting on their own frequent professions, had petitioned for the Dissenters. The Duke had given the Dissenters his support: this, to an experienced observer, no doubt indicated a predisposition in favour of the Catholics, and seemed to justify some relaxation from the rigour of the pledge. But in despite of Mr. O'Connell's earnest advocacy, and the impressive letter of the very influential originator of that beneficent law, Lord John Russell, the Association continued inexorable. After a very violent debate, the motion for the rescinding of the resolution was rejected ; and it was determined to act upon the de-

claration on the very first occasion which fortune might present. This occasion was not long deferred : Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald a short time after accepted a place in the cabinet, and vacated his seat for the county of Clare.

It is very possible, that on the original passing of this resolution, the Catholic Association did not expect to be called upon to act upon it, until the next general dissolution of parliament, when the entire enthusiasm and vigour of the body being brought into action, little difficulty would exist in giving it its full effect. But the case immediately before them was isolated, and affected by very peculiar difficulties. Mr. V. Fitzgerald was not an ordinary candidate. In some particulars, he had very great advantages over the Beresfords, and Fosters, and Jocelyns. There was no spirit of settled hatred in the people against the individual, or against his family : he had in the aristocracy and gentry, each of whom could count some instance of his friendship in their own persons, devoted and well-merited adherents. In the county at large, there was rather a feeling of gratitude, than otherwise, towards Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. His father, Prime Sergeant Fitzgerald, had just claims to their affections. An officer of government, he had voted against the Union, at a period

when venality was considered as little less than virtue. Mr. V. Fitzgerald himself had placed the Catholics under very considerable obligations. He had constantly voted for their question, and was known to be a devoted advocate of the measure. In personal qualifications, too, no man more truly possessed all those gifts, by which a candidate is likely to assure to himself the largest share of popular favour. He was a gentleman of the most conciliating manners, and an orator of no common eloquence. But Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald came strictly under the ban of the late resolution. He was a Minister, and a member of the obnoxious administration. To this ground of opposition was also superadded another, of scarcely less importance in the minds of the Catholics. Mr. Fitzgerald had lately voted against the Dissenters, and in some degree neutralised by this act his ardent professions in favour of civil and religious freedom. The case was clear : the only question now was, whether the Catholic Association would act upon it immediately. The matter was decided in a few days : indeed, little doubt ought to have existed for a moment, in the mind of any rational or honourable man, what course ought to have been adopted. The Association had been more than once taunted with their *paper resolutions*. They.

had pledged themselves, in the face of the country. They were strictly bound to adhere to this pledge. It was not less true policy. The life by which such bodies live, is public opinion. Whatever was the risk, the experiment was necessary; the prize was worth the venture: if successful, there was a certainty that the same principle would spread with tenfold energy through every part of Ireland, and with a success which no Minister could contemplate without dismay. The contest was not an ordinary contest. It involved in its issue the far mightier battle of emancipation. The hour of the final engagement had at last come: the field where it was to be decided was the county of Clare. The Association looked round, and for some time hesitated—success seemed more than doubtful.*

* The evidence of a witness, and a very important co-operator in this momentous struggle, Mr. Steele, gives ample proof of this assertion. I quote his own words—"It is a fact," says he, "perfectly well known, that my friend O'Gorman Mahon and myself were the only persons in the Association who said the work could be done; and for saying so we were treated as visionaries (the same thing occurred in Waterford) by many of the most experienced members of the Catholic body.

"We left Dublin together to commence it, notwithstanding that we anticipated, with a confidence almost amounting to certainty, that on our arrival in Clare we should be com-

No candidate could be induced to come forward against Mr. Fitzgerald. Major M'Namara, who

pelled to agitate for the principle alone, without having for a while any particular candidate, as we had good reason to believe that Major M'Namara would not come to the poll.

“ We left the Catholic Association rooms in the afternoon of Saturday, and on Sunday morning, after travelling all night, arrived in Limerick, and were informed that our anticipations were well founded, as the Major had withdrawn, and declared his intention not to oppose Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.

“ Upon receiving this intelligence, my friend urged me again to accept the offer which had been pressed upon me in Dublin, namely, that I should declare myself the candidate to oppose Mr. Fitzgerald, as my return would be quite certain, supported by the whole influence of the Catholic Association, superadded to whatever hold I might have had upon the attachment of the Catholic population, by reason of the industry and zeal with which I endeavoured to promote the cause of the liberty of Ireland.

“ I refused it decisively, assigning the same reason, namely, that it would be suicide of my own character, as it would afford my political and personal enemies an opportunity of insinuating, that I had been writing and speaking with great fervour, not for the purpose which I averred, namely, the good of the cause, but for an ulterior personal advantage to myself. I told him, at the same time, that I would co-operate with him to the last extremity ; and that the very fact of my refusal of the representation myself, would quadruple my influence in exciting the popular feeling.

“ I then mentioned Mr. William O'Brien, the present

united in himself all the necessary recommendations, " a Protestant in religion, a Catholic in

member for Ennis, as in every way qualified to be the second representative; but I doubted whether the engagements of the family with Mr. Fitzgerald might not be a bar to his coming forward to oppose him at the hustings.

" We left Limerick, crossed the Shannon at Thomond Bridge, and found ourselves in Clare; and immediately commenced agitation, by the distribution of addresses of the Association, Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. O'Connell, and other papers.

" We passed through Cratloe Wood, and went to the chapel, where the people were assembling to hear mass: service had not commenced, and we harangued them from the altar for a few moments, got their promise of support, left them a number of the printed addresses for distribution, and proceeded rapidly to Six-mile Bridge, where the first mass had just terminated. Six-mile Bridge is a beautiful village on the river Ougarnee, at the foot of what were formerly the Clare, but are now the O'Connell mountains. We entered the chapel, had a few moments' conversation with Dr. Cloine, the parish priest, in the sacristy—wrote a resolution in the strongest form, that Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald should be opposed—moved the priest to the chair—spoke with great vehemence, to show the people we were thoroughly in earnest—got the resolution carried with acclamation—dispersed a number of the people with the printed addresses, and were setting off in red-hot haste for Newmarket on Fergus, when the horses were taken from the carriage, and we were drawn rapidly for a mile out of the village with enthusiastic shoutings.

" The same agitational tactics were put in operation in the

politics, a Milesian in descent," peremptorily refused. There was no other gentleman in the

chapel of Newmarket—service had been over, but the bell was rung again; and Sir Edward O'Brien's and Sir Augustine Fitzgerald's tenants promised, with huzzaing and shouting, to oppose Mr. Fitzgerald, and support whatever candidate we might propose.

"We were drawn in triumph out of Newmarket on Fergus by the people, and proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Ennis, where the Catholic gentry and an immense concourse of the people had been for some hours in the chapel awaiting our arrival.

"Mr. Lawless, 'Honest Jack Lawless,' had reached Ennis early that morning, that he might co-operate in the good work of agitation. The Rev. Mr. Lynch, and the Rev. Mr. O'Gorman, the Catholic curates of Ennis, Father John Murphy of Corrofin, and a number of the other Catholic clergy, were collected in the chapel.

"The enthusiasm with which the resolutions proposed in Ennis were carried upon this occasion is not to be described; neither would it be very easy to do justice by any description to the dismay of the Protestant gentry, when they heard of the manner in which we had passed our Sunday morning.

"It is manifest that the enthusiasm which was displayed in Clare must have been enthusiasm for the principle alone, as we were only agitating, for some abstract entity, who was to be the instrument of putting out the British cabinet minister. O'Gorman Mahon, although half dead with exhaustion, without taking any repose, set out that very evening for Dublin again, where he offered the representation to Lord William Paget, which however his Lordship declined,

county sufficiently liberal, or influential, or willing, to take his place. The cause seemed

by reason of the situation which was then held by his illustrious father.

“ The public spirit and private character of Mr. William O'Brien were so highly appreciated, that I was authorised to write him a letter to London, suited to the exigency of the time.

“ I stated, at the commencement of these observations, that I should mention an incident, which I conceive to be of peculiar interest, and its interest arose from this—that it evinced the ardour of the people, and at the same time their steadiness and stern composure—qualities of such novel generation in the peasantry of Ireland.

“ The cattle fair of Spansel Hill near Ennis, one of the principal fairs of Clare, was to take place on the Wednesday following the Sunday I have described ; and there, as a matter of course, would be congregated at this time an immense multitude of the people, and also a great portion of the gentry of the county, the more especially as Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald himself was expected to be there to canvass.

“ Mr. Lawless, as a lay agitator, ‘ Father Tom M'Enerny ’ of Feacle, as one of the Popish priesthood, and I, as a heretic agitator of the Catholic Association, came to a resolution to go together to this fair, that we might sound the feelings of the people, under the suspense which had been created by their not knowing who was to be their second candidate.

“ On our arrival we quitted our carriage, which had been ornamented with a profusion of green boughs, and walked quietly among the people, abstaining altogether from any kind of harangue. The green boughs on the carriage, and

lost, when the circumstances which appeared most fatal to its success, were the very cir-

the appearance of such a triumvirate, whilst Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald himself was at the fair, were sufficiently impressive indications of the object of our visit.

“ No crowds collected around us—there was no shouting or huzzaing — there were not ‘ curses,’ — but blessings, ‘ not loud but deep,’ upon us as we moved, but no open demonstrations of any kind of interest; and when we walked to the outskirts of the fair, we were scarcely followed by a single individual.

“ We could observe the Protestant gentry, who were collected together on horseback in a very numerous body on the side of a hill, at a little distance from the tents, glancing at each other with smiles of derision at the two agitators from Dublin, who appeared to them to be quite deserted and unthought of by the people, notwithstanding all the enthusiastic manifestation of their spirit on the Sunday preceding.

“ While they supposed they had to laugh at us, we were in reality smiling at them; for I knew beforehand, and explained to my friend Mr. Lawless, that they had no more perception of the political state of their country, than of the currents and under-currents of a sea which they had never seen.

“ I introduced him, however, to several of our political opponents, who acted upon the occasion in such a manner as to evince, very unequivocally, that they much better understood the principles and practice of gentlemanly courtesy, than those great principles of human nature, which generate, in their occult working, great moral revolutions.

“ Mr. O’Callaghan of Ballinahinch endeavoured to lure

cumstances which really constituted the glory and value of the struggle. The agitation had

me into a public disputation; but as we were surrounded by Protestant aristocratical auditory, predisposed (predetermined I should say) to award to him the laurel crown of victory in the argument, I laughingly declined submitting the cause to their adjudication, and made a retreat from the hill, and Mr. O'Callaghan's political dialectics. We then retired to a tent, with the celebrated Father John Murphy of Corrofin, and other gentlemen, that we might have private conversation with the persons whom we wished to speak with, and that we might at the same time send out our instructions.

"We then received renewed assurances that the people were staunch to a man; but at the same time, that although their resolution was taken decisively, and their spirit burning to have an opportunity of voting at the hustings, they refrained from any display of their feelings, and kept aloof from us in the fair, as they were under the eye of their landlords; and if there should be no contest, they dreaded their vengeance, if they should have been seen to make any demonstrations of favour to the opponents of 'Vesey.'

"If they were certain of a contest, they were, they said, utterly regardless of their landlords, and 'would vote with the Association as sure as God was in heaven. He (a landlord) may take my pig, and my cow, and my body,' said a peasant of Clare, 'but, thank God, he cannot take my soul.'

"This calmness and steadiness, of a people so much in general under the sway of impulse, was an overwhelming proof of the event of the election.

"We left the fair; and just before we drove away, Mr. Lawless, from the front of the carriage, made a short but

gone on, the county was roused. Urged by the arguments of his friends and of the Association, Mr. O'Connell declared himself the new candidate, for the representation of the county of Clare, in an energetic address from Dublin.

heart-stirring speech, giving the people assurance that they should have a candidate, and at the same time assuring them that there was nothing doubtful in the contest, for our victory was certain.

“ The long-repressed feeling of the people then burst forth into enthusiastic shouting, and we drove away at full speed on our return to Ennis.

“ After this I strongly recommended that, in case we could not get a Protestant gentleman of high character to oppose Mr. Fitzgerald, instead of getting a common-place person, we should get a parish-clerk or grave-digger, give him a qualification out of the Catholic rent, and return him to parliament in derision of the influence of the Wellington administration. In two days after, an end was put to all suspense upon this subject, by receiving from Dublin the address of the great agitator to the people of Clare, announcing a candidate, in opposition to the British cabinet minister, sustained by the Protestant aristocracy of the county, and that candidate was no other than the Catholic Daniel O'Connell !!!

“ In two or three days after, Mr. Sheil brought the splendour of his talents and his name to the good work in Clare, the Rev. Mr. Maguire, Mr. Maurice O'Connell, &c. &c.; and, finally, came the great agitator himself, accompanied by his counsel Mr. Bennett, and Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, the secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, and a numerous body of other gentlemen.”

The contest now took another character. Had Major M'Namara stood, large deductions, in case of success, would necessarily have been made, from the absolutely popular, or rather Catholic nature, of the victory. Much would have been set down, and not unreasonably, to the connexions, to the religion, to the character, of the man himself. But in the struggle which ensued, the pretensions of the contending parties, by which the empire was divided, were brought forward, in their most naked and unaided shape. It was a wager of battle between the Catholics and the Minister—between the people and the aristocracy—between the Association and the Brunswick Club. Emancipation or continued exclusion was to be the result of the struggle. No Minister could stand against a succession of elections like that of Clare. In this particular, it was of far higher importance than the election of Waterford. But the people had advanced, and bolder measures had been rendered necessary by their advancement. The one had begun—the other was destined to close the contest.

The moment Mr. O'Connell appeared in Ennis, the battle seemed already gained. He was received with all those demonstrations of attachment, to which a life spent in

the cause had justly entitled him. Through a dense crowd of enthusiastic peasants, who had rushed in from all parts of the country, with their wives and children around them, the new candidate proceeded, in a sort of public triumph, to the hustings. It was a scene remarkable, even in this country of political anomalies. On one side stood the whole array of ministerial and aristocratic power, all that political and personal influence could collect ;—on the other stood the people, and the candidate of the people, supported by the strength of his own popularity, but chiefly by the conviction that he was the champion of a cause, in which there was not a Catholic before him who was not as deeply interested as himself. Around him were the gentlemen who usually took part in Catholic proceedings, each marked by some of those peculiarities, which are brought out into such high relief by the stir and excitation of public life, and bearing a very remarkable contrast to the sombre equality and affected calmness of the opposite party. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was proposed in the usual form by Sir Edward O'Brien, a former antagonist of the candidate, but who on this occasion seems to have sunk, in the common anxiety for the interests of his caste, all personal recollections of ancient feud and animosity.

He was seconded by Sir Augustine Fitzgerald. Mr. O'Connell was then proposed by Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, a Catholic, and seconded by Mr. Steele, a Protestant gentleman, both energetic members of the Association, and well known for the spirit and intrepidity with which they had supported and extended its principles and measures throughout that portion of Ireland. The candidates then addressed the assembled multitudes, but with far different effect. This was not a time when the nicely-balanced sentences of parliamentary warfare, or even the deprecating eloquence of a lukewarm friend, could avail much against the fierce and impassioned invective, the stern and avenging defiance, of such a man as Mr. O'Connell. Yet Mr. Fitzgerald stood in a position most likely to affect an Irish audience, however uncultivated. His father had been long endeared to them by his public and private virtues, and he lay at that moment on a bed of sickness. The mention of all this touched them; but pathos is very akin to ridicule, and the Irish laugh with still greater facility than they weep. Mr. O'Connell profited by his knowledge of this characteristic. Public life begets no very great nicety of feeling, and Mr. O'Connell on this occasion

did not prove himself an exception. The result however of that address far exceeded the calculations of his enemies ;—it quite equalled the sanguine hopes of his friends. The people were swept away by their own enthusiasm ; Mr. O'Connell had merely given language to their feelings ;—the spirit had seized them, and its name was legion. To a man they demanded with impatience to be led to the poll.

The first day's proceedings decided the election, — not indeed by the absolute majority which it produced, but by the unequivocal evidence it gave of the fixed determination of the people. The only matter of consideration during the remainder of the election was, how most they should enhance victory, by keeping the immense population in better order, and arranging for future impression every circumstance connected with the contest. The popular party, if very ardent, was not the less judicious ; they carried into this more active species of warfare, a perfect knowledge of the tactics of popular movements, and a practised facility in varying them, according as the person or the occasion required. The same species of election campaigning (if so it may be termed) which had been attended with such signal success

in Waterford, was now adopted. Mr. Sheil, Mr. Lawless, Mr. Steele, &c. &c. in company at times with the Catholic priests, made a tour of the several chapels, and roused the people from one end of Clare to the other. Every where they were heard, with the most unbounded enthusiasm. The close logic, the easy humour of the celebrated Father Maguire,—celebrated by his chivalrous acceptance of the challenge of Mr. Pope, and by the no less disgraceful conspiracy of his opponents,—was scarcely less overpowering than the indefatigable patriotism, and fervent eloquence of Father Murphy of Corrofin. The difficulty did not consist in kindling, but in managing the flame, when it was once aroused. But in this they had an auxiliary, upon which they had every good reason to count. The lessons of the Association had produced their result: the leaders now met the full reward of their previous exertions. The waving of a hand, the glance of an eye, was enough to calm or to lead the most turbulent. Wherever the agitators passed, peace and order followed in their train. Near thirty thousand people bivouacked every night in the streets of Ennis—men and women of all ages, of all tempers.* They met together at

* Mr. Steele gives a strong but just description of some of these meetings: " And when he aroused them at mid-

stated hours in appointed houses for their meals, with their wives and children, and received; in the most perfect order, from large caldrons of bread and milk, their daily pittance, as long as their services were required at the election. During all this time they abstained, with the most perfect self-denial, and a cheerfulness the admiration of all around them, from every species of intoxicating drink. "Their whiskey," as they said, "was water." The disastrous results which usually arose at fairs, &c. from such indulgences, were placed before them; their leaders and their clergy were indefatigable in impressing, by every motive most likely to flatter their pride and their prejudices, the imperative necessity of an exact compliance with this duty. They obeyed them with a precision, a perseverance, a devotion, which even in a less noble cause would have been really admirable.

night," speaking of O'Gorman Mahon, "resigning the certainty of his own return, if he had been the candidate, and called them to their illuminated altars, and stood with their priests, and told them he summoned them to vote for O'Connell, for their religion, and their country, it is not within the power of language to convey any conception of the scene." See also the very graphic and animated account of the same scenes in the *N. Monthly Magazine* for October and November, 1828.

Not a single instance of intoxication occurred during the election; scarcely a single quarrel.* They threw themselves, with an abandonment of all their ordinary feelings, totally and unreservedly upon their leaders. It was not the mere enthusiasm of the followers of a popular chief, or the discipline of a veteran army, but it had something of the attachment of children to parents, an affection mingled with resolution which nothing could distract. The troops which had been assembled round the town, to the number of several thousands, with four pieces of artillery, looked with utter astonishment on this peaceable resistance. It was an organization which, as it never violated the law, the law could not act upon, without violating the right of the subject. Every person knew this perfectly: it was not a blind or passive obedience,

* An anecdote has been related which places this in a strong light. A stout-built peasant came up to Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, and complained that he had been struck by one of the opposite party, "a diminutive little creature not higher than his knee." "Why didn't you knock him down?" said O'Gorman Mahon. "Oh! then, your honour, I thought you and the Association had forbidden us. Else—," said he,—and immediately stretched his brawny arm to its full. The spirit of this man was the spirit of every Catholic in the county.

but a rational sense of the utility of the conduct which their leaders had traced out to them, and the perfect conviction that no other means existed by which their end could be so certainly achieved. Before the election was over, the very military who were sent to keep good order at Ennis, were converted, by the good humour and good conduct of the peasantry, into enthusiastic friends. They frequently cheered each other as they passed along. The peasants, as at Waterford, regarded them not in the light of jailers, sent there to check the expression of their honest feelings, but as protectors, commissioned to see fair play on both sides, and to give every man an opportunity of expressing his opinion as he might judge most fit.* The termi-

* This was the feeling throughout the whole of the contest, and inculcated studiously, both in word and deed, by the agitators. When Mr. O'Connell, during his chairing, passed by the Infirmary Barracks at Ennis, he called upon his supporters to salute the officers: "Take off your hats, my friends," said he, "and salute the officers of the bravest army in the world." On passing before Sir Charles Doyle, who in compliance with the representations of Mr. O'Gorman Mahon had withdrawn the troops, Mr. O'Connell thanked him in the most complimentary manner, on the very excellent dispositions he had made for the preservation of the peace; and added, "that the bravest men were always the most strenuous supporters of constitutional rights." The

nation of such a struggle, after the first day of polling, was no longer a matter of doubt. The landlords who brought in their tenants, in the fond persuasion that they would not desert them in an emergency which most required their assistance, were suddenly deprived of their votes, at the very moment they were on the point of bringing them to the poll. The same open canvass of every freeholder, no matter who might be his landlord, practised for the first time with such effect at Waterford, was more boldly avowed, and acted on, with still greater energy, during the Clare election. Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, at the very outset of the contest, had stated candidly, to all whom it might concern, his readiness to meet any gentleman who on that score might think himself aggrieved, and proceeded immediately to canvass the freeholders of those very landlords amongst his opponents whom he knew to be most punctilious upon such subjects. This gave a decided tone to the entire election. The priests and the agitators were accused of lying in wait in the vicinity of the hustings for the tender consciences of the electors. Whenever a "batch" of freeholders came spirit, of course, animated every class of the people. Not a single insult was offered to the soldiery from the commencement to the end of the election.

appeared, a glance of the priest's eye (they were often accused of "looking in a particular way" at their parishioners), or a few bold phrases sent forth vehemently from the top of a coach or a cart, by the agitators, carried off hundreds at a time to the side of the popular candidate. Against such magic and such magicians, it was idle to contend. After a contest of six days—the events of every day more and more augmenting the popular confidence—Mr. Fitzgerald declined continuing any longer the needless struggle, and Mr. O'Connell was announced, after a little reluctance on the part of the High Sheriff, to be the duly elected representative to serve in parliament for the county of Clare.

This most remarkable event produced an extraordinary sensation, not merely in the county of Clare, but throughout all Ireland. Some vented their fruitless indignation at the foul profanation: a Papist had entered the sanctuary of their monopoly, and taken possession of their most important right by force. Others consoled themselves with the reflection, that the triumph would not be of very long duration: it might be true (they observed), that he had been returned by a priestridden multitude for an Irish county; but the contest would be of a very different description when he should have to plead before

the people of England his right to take his seat in the imperial parliament. This, however, was but a limited view of its consequences. It was very immaterial, as to the great question, whether or not Mr. O'Connell should immediately succeed. A far more mighty blow had been struck, than giving an individual a seat in the British senate. Incontestible proof had been put forward that a new order of things had *really* arisen in Ireland. The menaces and denunciations of the Association orators had been long treated by Ministers as insolent, but idle declamations. But here was the thing itself, so palpably, so sternly expressed, that it was quite impossible, even for the most deluded or prejudiced opponent of the Catholics, to shut his eyes to its existence or results. A Cabinet Minister—a warm friend to the Catholics—a gentleman, wielding the most extensive government patronage, and adding new influence of a still more comprehensive and binding nature to its distribution, by the personal grace and kindness which accompanied it—expelled contumeliously from a seat, which he had long held with distinguished credit to himself and his constituents, was no doubt a very striking and alarming political phenomenon. But such things had happened in many former elections;

nor was it so unnatural an exercise of a right so strictly popular, and influenced by popular changes, as the right of the elective franchise. Yet with all these abatements, a very material distinction was still to be made between this contest and all others which had preceded it. The principle here illustrated had never before been tried in Ireland. Generally speaking, neither the opposing candidate, nor any of his constituents, neither Mr. O'Connell, nor the priests, nor the agitators, nor the freeholders, had any political, certainly no personal bias, against Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. The man was nothing in the case—but the measure was every thing. It was *designed to tell Ministers, in a language which should no longer be misunderstood—that wherever the Association chose to call, that there were the people ready to follow;—that obedience to the Association was the paramount principle in the heart of every peasant in the country;—that the power of the Association was therefore absolute and universal;—that it could not be got rid of by the law, for it never infringed the law;—that it could not be got rid of by brute force, for it never rendered brute force necessary;—that it was therefore unattackable and enduring;—that unattackable itself, it could attack others;—that without injuring established institutions, it might make use of these very institutions for every purpose of injury;*

—that it could wield the constitution against the constitution;—introduce a sullen perpetual war into the bosom of peace;—disturb every relation of society, without violating a single enactment on which such relations repose;—and, finally, produce such an order of things as to COMPEL the Minister to choose between coercion or conciliation—between justice or tyranny—between war or peace—between equalization or revolution.—It was intended to tell him, that the CRISIS HAD COME, and there was no longer any time left him for pause or deliberation. This was the moral of the piece,—and it was proclaimed in a manner which shook the most apathetic from their stupor. The entire nation was awakened — Protestant and Catholic became equally interested. In the most remote parts of England nothing but Clare was spoken of: it was the first time that Ireland had truly penetrated to the mind of England since the period of her disastrous rebellion. The defeated candidate hastened over, and had himself an immediate conference with the Premier. The battle had been fought and lost. The election of Clare had decided the question. The vivid description of an eye-witness, and of such an eye-witness; of a Cabinet Minister—of a man deeply versed in the affairs of Ireland, anxious about her destinies,—trembling lest whilst he was speak-

ing the Rubicon might already have been passed, made, or ought to have made, an impression on a mind less familiarised with human nature, or less unbiassed by local prejudices, than the Duke of Wellington's. This great event may not have cast the first seeds of the approaching measure in his mind, but it unquestionably contributed much to bring them to their destined maturity. A series of such elections would amount in fact to a revolution. Even in the presumption that Mr. O'Connell should not be permitted to take his seat—a result upon which the Catholics calculated—the contest was far from being decided in favour of the government. There was nothing in such a decision which could preclude Mr. O'Connell from standing again, and being again returned for the same county—nothing which could preclude every county in which the Catholic interest predominated, that is, with but three exceptions, every county in Ireland, from returning in a similar manner Catholic members:—nothing, in fine, which could preclude such members from being returned election after election, and thus disturbing to its very foundations the entire representation of the country. To refuse so large a portion of the representation of any country their place in the legislature, and at the same time to continue governing and

taxing the country as if it were actually so represented, would be an injustice so crying, so palpable, that the Protestants themselves would be among the first to appeal against it. The entire commercial and agricultural interests of the country would be suddenly thrown into the hands of the representatives of a few Irish rotten boroughs, or placed under the protection, partial and misinformed as they must frequently be, of the English, or Scotch members of parliament. To remedy this, no other means could be devised but a new penal statute prohibiting Catholics from presenting themselves as candidates at any election for shire or borough in the empire: but it may be much doubted, even with the aid of a dissolution of parliament, whether such a proposition would ever have passed through the Lower House; or, if it actually had so passed, whether the Irish nation would not be justified in regarding it as so much waste paper, not having received the sanction of its own representatives. Such a principle once recognised, it is out of the nature of things it should not very speedily be followed by an appeal to arms: and the war which would issue from such a question would more than any other combine the energies and sympathies of the entire nation. Such a war, like the war in Spain, or the war in

America, would not be a contest between rival sects, or a short skirmish between ancient jealousies, but a war earnest and universal, stern and long, for common rights and national independence. The other alternative would scarcely be better: it would be somewhat less violent and less speedy, but that is all. The Irish Catholic representatives, excluded from an English house of commons, would sit in Ireland, and divide, in the most palpable and alarming manner, the feelings, and duties, and interests of the nation. The repeal of the Union would virtually take place: public opinion would rally round the new parliament. But against that determined attitude of order and tranquillity which had already been so effective, what could be attempted? Popular organization would gain a greater degree of perfection every day; and if force were to be adopted, it would be the worst of all forces—the force of military tyranny against an oppressed and unarmed population. But moral influence is not to be extinguished in this manner; and England could not act thus without attentive witnesses of her tyranny in every country in Europe and America. We live in days when nations find a good character as necessary to their power and happiness as individuals; and England is by no means in such

a position, as willingly to put to risk whatever reputation she may still retain. It would not be long before she would be driven to a much simpler mode of escaping from the dilemma. In a word, she would be obliged to do as she has done before,—she would admit the Catholic, in order to benefit the Protestant—she would concede Emancipation rather than produce Separation. She would have to choose between a Relief bill or an Insurrection bill,—and finally she would grant, rather than be forced to give.

✓ These were not the loose conjectures of casual conversation, but the deep convictions of every Catholic, upon which, when the occasion presented itself, he was fully determined to act. Though it was never embodied into public documents by the Association, or presented to the public eye in any distinct form, it was the settled resolve of all those persons more immediately engaged in directing its decisions, to set up Catholic candidates at the next general election for every county or town in Ireland, where such a measure could be rendered at all practicable. The consequences of such a resolution do not require to be insisted upon. The success of the candidates, in the state of excitement produced, and augmented by preceding measures, would have been certain. What Mr.

O'Connell had produced at Clare, every other agitator, with even far inferior means, might produce elsewhere. The contest would indeed be terrible ; the two sects would be placed in every portion of Ireland face to face, but the victory would be absolute and inevitable ; it would be flight on one side, and pursuit on the other. But such a victory, it is to be feared, would not stop there. It is doubtful even whether equalization after triumph would any longer satisfy. The country would stand on the very brink of a revolution. There are few of our living men who could prevent her from plunging into it.

- Mr. O'Connell left Clare, and continued his journey in a sort of uninterrupted ovation to Limerick, which he entered under an arch of triumph at the celebrated stone of the violated Treaty. His address there to the people was admirable. It cheered and calmed at the same time. His journey to Dublin was scarcely less flattering. The towns poured out their inhabitants as he passed along ; and though he travelled principally by night, he found the population assembled every where before their chapels to greet his arrival, with bonfires and every other demonstration of public joy. From Kildare he was drawn over the Curragh : the next day he arrived in Dublin. He was re-

ceived judiciously in the capital, without any of the usual accompaniments of popular triumph; yet never were the expressions of public sympathy more cordial and sincere. The Catholics were now persuaded that their emancipation could not be much longer deferred, and the coldest pressed round to take their share in the approaching liberation of their country.

The expenses incurred at the Clare election had been much more considerable, owing to the hurry and confusion of the arrangements, than had at first been apprehended. Subscriptions were immediately set on foot, and in most parts of Ireland liberally filled up. The "Catholic Rent" poured in from all quarters; the Clare fund increased. Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, where the organization was nearly complete, were easily brought forward. But Ulster was still backward, not from any want of the same ardour in the common cause, but in consequence of the deficiency of that arrangement and combination so conspicuous in other parts of Ireland.

It was determined to adopt measures to remedy this defect, and an expedition for the purpose of introducing more efficiently into the North the organization proposed by the Association for the collection of the Catholic Rent, the establish-

ment of Liberal Clubs, &c. was resolved on. Mr. Lawless, from his great intimacy with that part of Ireland, was selected as the organ of the Association.

The North was not yet ripe for this measure ; nor was it to be expected that a delegate or deputy of the Association could carry it so immediately and quietly into effect, as the inhabitants themselves, in possession of superior knowledge of local difficulties, and of the means by which they might most easily be obviated ; but, besides this, the moment selected was more than ordinarily inauspicious. The lately established Brunswick Clubs had pervaded every part of the country. The yeomanry, so far from having been disarmed, had considerably augmented their military resources. The entire country had been roused to the utmost degree of excitation, by the invectives and denunciations of the Orange party. An open and shameless cry for the blood of their fellow-citizens, and a direct avowal of an anxiety to bring back the scenes of 1798, had been heard from even the ministers of the gospel at several of their late meetings. The Association and its leaders in all these harangues had been pointed out in precise terms, as the prime source, the fertile principle, of the existing distractions of the

country; and the vengeance, sometimes of the legislature, sometimes of the population, been repeatedly invoked against them and their proceedings. To send then a member of that body, and in the authorised character of its representative, to such men and at such a moment, was little less than a direct provocative to open combat, an immediate signal for civil war. Many of the most considerate Catholics deprecated this unadvised intrusion on the territory of their enemies, and regretted that their voice had not been consulted, or had not been allowed to be heard, in a matter of so much public moment. Nor was Mr. Lawless the person precisely the most calculated for such an adventure. His sincerity, his ardour, his perseverance, are beyond all impeachment: his popular talents have been felt,—the enthusiasm which he feels himself, and knows so well to communicate to an assembly of his countrymen, are better testimonies to his efficiency, than any commendation of mere phrase. But Mr. Lawless is more sparingly gifted with other qualities of a less shining nature, but far more important, for the judicious discharge of the delicate functions with which he was intrusted. A nice discrimination of time and place; a keen perception of the innumerable shades of public feeling;

a calm and even cold judgment of popular excitation ; a prospective regard to consequences ; and an exceeding discretion in the management of popular resources, are qualities which we require even in an ordinary diplomatist. In the diplomacy just noticed, they were more than especially necessary. Mr. Lawless would have made a good Commissioner to the Departments, under the French Republic. Had it been necessary to stimulate, to kindle, to force into immediate action, a slumbering province, or to call out on a sudden emergency a levy *en masse* of fierce and determined men, no person, I am persuaded, would go through "such a labour of love," with higher spirit, more success, or greater physical and moral intrepidity. But the task here was of an opposite description, and Mr. Lawless either mistook the character of his mission, or, with the best intentions, found nothing in his nature which was calculated to second the intentions of the Association. Had it really been his purpose to organise the North, it would appear to a reasonable man, that the most obvious mode which, under the circumstances, could have been adopted, would have been to have gone at once to the North, and in a manner the most private and unostentatious possible. In such a country, as little notice, as little delay, as little crowd as

possible, was the obvious policy of the Association. Mr. Lawless, personally objectionable as he undoubtedly was to very many, even of the most moderate of his antagonists, adopted every expedient which could most inflame their animosity. He hovered for several weeks on the borders of Ulster, and though it is not to be denied, that in those places he did much good, and with as much alacrity as could reasonably be expected, yet the very good which he did, the time which he spent in doing it, the excitation which accompanied, and the lofty terms in which he announced it to the Association, and through that body of course to the entire country, put it altogether out of his power to execute the really important part of his mission, when the period arrived for its accomplishment. All his time was spent in preparation; when the contest came, his enemy was also prepared. But this want of political generalship was likely to have produced consequences far more fatal than mere personal defeat. Mr. Lawless was inadvertently on the point of involving the two great contending parties in instant conflict, and by no very strained inference suddenly plunging both bodies, and perhaps both countries, into civil war.

Mr. Lawless had now addressed several suc-

cessive meetings in the different parts of the country through which he had passed, Kells, Dundalk, &c. with his characteristic eloquence, and had every where been received with the loudest acclamations. The Rent was established as he moved along, and hopes were indulged that the representations hitherto made to the Association, of the state of the Catholics of the North, were false, or grossly exaggerated. In every chapel where he appeared, crowds came to meet him, and many even of his opponents joined the people, and returned with favourable impressions. As he proceeded, the usual results of such assemblies became perceptible. Meetings had never been frequent in that part of the country, and the people were fresh, and easily affected by such appeals. The exertions of Mr. Lawless were indefatigable. His success exceeded his anticipations. The numbers of his auditors augmented as he had advanced—a corresponding enthusiasm grew up with their numbers. Throughout all this, too, the temper and order of the populace were marvellous. They had studied with success the lessons of Waterford and Clare. Though thousands and tens of thousands were grouped around him, a single violation of good order had not yet taken place. These were emphatic proofs that the spirit of

organization as well as agitation had spread through every part of the country. But Mr. Lawless was carried away, no extraordinary case, by his own victories. The time now seemed arrived for the subjugation of the "black North." Mr. Lawless determined to enter it at Ballybay. He was accompanied, it is said, by one hundred and forty thousand peasants, all well clothed, and it is added, well armed; but their arms, on closer inquiries, have been reduced to a certain number of bludgeons and pistols, concealed under their frieze coats. This was of itself imprudent, but it was without the cognizance of Mr. Lawless. There were circumstances which rendered it infinitely more so. The Orangemen were alarmed at the hostile incursion, and prepared for defence. They were impressed with an idea that Ballybay was devoted to destruction by the Papists, and their allies were summoned from every part of the country to support them without delay. Three thousand Orangemen, who soon increased to five thousand, took possession of the opposite hill, immediately above the town. They every moment expected reinforcements. The next day it is very probable they could have counted a force of from ten to twenty thousand men. The two armies, for literally they were such, were

now very near each other, and no sort of disorder had yet marked the conduct of either. It was a singular sight, in the midst of perfect peace, and a general in his Majesty's service, General Thornton, standing close by. In a happy moment, ere it was quite too late, Mr. Lawless perceived his mistake. He had trusted too far to his sway over the multitude. To a certain point such rule is omnipotent,—beyond it, it vanishes into air. The people, as long as they are not attacked, will not attack others; they are orderly, if not provoked. Even a certain degree of provocation they can bear; but this forbearance has its limits, and these limits are easily passed in the North. The men here brought into collision, were not like the men he had lately been witnessing,—the men of Clare,—neither were their wrongs, nor their quarrel, nor their hatreds, as theirs. This was not a question between an old friend and a popular leader, between Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Fitzgerald: but it was a deadly and inextinguishable national feud, between two parties, the one masters, the other servants; one oppressors, the other oppressed—burning with mutual detestation—heated by remembrance of centuries of injury, and closing gradually on each other in the full conviction that they could not separate with-

out blows. That the Catholic party had any intentions of vengeance or outrage, it would perhaps be unjust to assert;* that they could never have entered the town, and preserved their tranquillity and good order, is now beyond a doubt. Their dispositions might have been the most peaceable—their intentions the most pure:—their peace and their purity no longer depended upon *themselves*. A single man with difficulty bears an insult—a hundred thousand men would certainly not bear even its shadow or intimation. The alarms of the Orangemen would have produced the same results as the confidence of the Catholics. A collision would have been inevitable: a single shot would have been enough. It was easy to begin, but where would it have ended? The entire North in four-and-twenty hours would have been up. But would the South have remained quiet? We shall soon come to that portion of the subject. In the mean time Mr. Lawless adopted the only best course to that of not having appeared there at all. The people took his entreaties to peace

* It was rumoured that, the day previous, they had marked the doors of many obnoxious persons for destruction; that a priest was at the head of the projected attack, &c. &c. But the Irish Catholic has been long accustomed to these calumnies.

and order, as words of course, plausible pretexts for the better concealing of real intentions, and were for the most part persuaded that he intended heading them in military array against their enemies. They hurried him on in his carriage to within a very small distance from the town. In a moment the difficulty and the danger flashed upon him. He rushed with a sudden effort from his carriage, mounted a grey horse, instantly dashed through the crowd,—and fled. In the very moment of his escape a partisan of his own is said to have presented a pistol to his breast, indignant at the failure of the expedition. It happily missed fire. Another leader was to have taken his place.* What the consequences might have been, it is not very difficult to conjecture. Ballybay might have been entered, but a rebellion that very night would have commenced in Ireland.

The South was in scarcely a less state of ferment than the North. The Association, with as good intentions, but not with juster views of the risks which they were about to incur, had recommended a measure, which was considered necessary by the circumstances of the times. Immediately after the Clare Election, several of

* Another marvel, which had no foundation in fact. But the lie was believed, and did as much injury as truth.

those factions, which had at various times so materially disturbed the peace of the country, and interfered with the constitutional system of the Association, began to reappear in the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, under a variety of absurd designations. At the same time numerous attempts to establish in different parishes those pernicious secret societies, which have so long been the bane of Ireland, were discovered. It was of the utmost moment to repress them before they extended so far into the South as to create a counter-power, of uncertain and undefined principle and intentions to the power of the Association. The "Order of the Liberators"* had in some instances met the

* The most notorious of these secret societies are the *Ribbonmen*. Their existence was a subject of alarm and regret to the Catholics so early as 1812. It seems that two or three years previous, the outrages and violence of the Orangemen of Donegal became so intolerable, that the unprotected Catholic inhabitants resolved to form a confederacy for their common protection. An anti-Orange club, called the *Ribbon Society* (somewhat analogous to the Defenders' Society in 1792 and 1793), was accordingly set on foot. Imitating the illegality of the Orange Association, a certain secret oath was devised, and the club was limited to Catholics only. The institution quickly spread, even to the neighbouring counties, and many lodges of *Ribbonmen* were formed. There was a considerable diversity in the construc-

evil, and by prompt measures gone far to extinguish it. But its progress was still perceptible; and Messrs. Steele and O'Gorman Mahon were commissioned by the Association to take every necessary means to bring about immediate reconciliations amongst the people, and to suppress wherever they should be met with these secret injurious combinations, &c. Both gentlemen immediately entered upon their duty, but with considerably less danger, or less indiscretion than Mr. Lawless. They came into a territory

tion of these lodges: some introduced an oath of allegiance, others omitted it altogether. As it is the common lot of all secret institutions to grow worse every day, the *Ribbon Society*, blameable and mischievous as it was in its original formation, became gradually more objectionable and dangerous as it extended, and acts of outrage were latterly amongst the fatal consequences which marked its way. The Catholic Board at that period, and the Catholic Association at various intervals since, published and circulated addresses, which tended in a remarkable manner, in concurrence with the appeals and exertions of individuals, to counteract the progress of this dangerous institution. But they were not so fortunate or so effective, as perfectly to annihilate it. It exists still in many counties in its full vigour; and it is greatly to be apprehended, that in consequence of the dissolution of the Association (the only power which has any real influence in repressing it) it will now spread out, unchecked and unrepressed, over the greater part of the North and North-West of Ireland.

not in the hands of an enemy, with no opposition to encounter, and with no other task to perform, than to teach the people a better appreciation of their own interests. Their influence too (particularly after the recent election) was unbounded. Wherever they appeared in the turbulent districts, the factious laid by their animosities, and in great crowds flocked to the chapels to embrace in the spirit of forgiveness their most inveterate foes. It was certainly a striking sight, to see their chiefs on either side advance up the steps of the altar, and embrace each other in the presence of their priests and their respective factions, and call God solemnly to witness, that henceforth, for the good of their soul and the cause of their country, they would dwell together in amity and peace. Their hands were joined together by the clergyman, sometimes by one or other of the gentlemen just mentioned, and they returned home, frequently riding side by side, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the men, women, and children, of both parties. The commissioners, if so they may be called, were emboldened by success, and extended their visits and exhortations beyond Limerick. Tipperary was afflicted time immemorial by the same spirit of family faction, and its almost constant concomitant secret association. 'The passion for such

meetings increased : the numbers who flocked to them augmented. Instead of a few hundreds, who originally had been convened, and with some reluctance, for a particular purpose, thousands now were to be seen in every direction, anxious to reconcile their differences, and to sacrifice every private compact to their “loyalty,” as they termed it, to the Association. They had at first begun by a few detached parties. Whole parishes were now summoned and obeyed. In the neighbourhood of Clogheen, on the boundaries of Waterford and Tipperary, sixteen parishes were at one time met in well-ordered march towards the interior of the country ; a little earlier, four thousand men with their chiefs at the head of their respective factions assembled at the small chapel of Borrisoleigh, in the neighbourhood of Tipperary. In a third parish, in still larger numbers, they came together, and entered in the noon-day one of the principal towns of the county. All this was sufficiently dangerous, though no evidence had yet been given of outrage ; on the contrary, up to the period of which we are speaking, their professed object was, universal reconciliation,—oblivion of private feud,—obedience to the mandates of the Association. But there were many features of the most perilous description which distinguished them from all

preceding assemblies. They assumed a regular uniform of green calico; their chiefs were distinguished by some fantastic but characteristic additions to the costume of their corps, such as feathers, green handkerchiefs bearing the portrait of Mr. O'Connell, &c. &c.: they displayed before them green banners with the name of the respective parishes or townlands, each preceded by their bands of music, and all other circumstances of military array.* There was something more in this than met the ordinary eye. The people had greatly misapprehended the objects of the Association, and in many instances could not be convinced that they had recommended the suppression of all former divisions and discords, with any other view, than to prepare the people for a general and united insurrectionary movement. "*When will he call us out?*" was more than once heard in the streets of Clonmell during the great Provincial meeting of last August, and frequently answered with the finger on the mouth, and a significant smile and wink from the by-standers. Many of these peasants too had arms concealed in the mountains near the town, and reserved for the coming occasion with

* One house alone in Cork furnished calico for these purposes to the amount of 600/.

great caution and assiduity. They joined these reconciliation meetings with the greatest alacrity, and forced the head of every family to send one or two persons of his name to represent him, in case he could not be able to give his personal attendance. Many felt a great repugnance to obey this summons ; but the secret combination law of the county Tipperary was so well known and so deeply dreaded, that they have been drawn, even from remote parts of the county of Waterford and Limerick, to appear at these assemblages. They were gradually losing their original character ; and, in a very short time, from the very necessity of the case, they would probably have degenerated into mere displays of strength and numbers. In one of these marches or military processions, they placed at their head a notorious outlaw of the name of Kisby, who had been implicated in the murder of the Maras, and paraded close to the barracks of the very policemen, who had been commissioned to seize him. It would have been a dangerous adventure on such an occasion to have attempted his capture, and the interference of a military force would inevitably have produced a conflict, and a conflict would have spread out into the commencement of civil war. On the other side, the impunity with which such chal-

lenges passed on, gave new confidence to the party. With of course very little information, and very local views, they already imagined themselves a match for the government itself, or rather they imagined the government was on their side, and that the only enemies they had to contend with, were the Orangemen of the North, and the Brunswickers of the South. Mr. Ellis, Master in Chancery, Sergeant Lefroy, and John Claudius Beresford, had lately, in either plain or implied terms, at a public meeting in Dublin and elsewhere, proclaimed the necessity of a second 1798, and had counted up in exaggerated phrases the physical forces, on which, in case of such an emergency, their party could rely. The denunciation and the defiance were answered by counter denunciation and counter defiance, on the part of the Catholics. Mr. O'Connell exclaimed, in a passionate tone of invective at the meeting at Clonmell, "Oh! would to God that our excellent Viceroy Lord Anglesey would but only give me a commission, and if those men of blood should attempt to attack the property and persons of his Majesty's loyal subjects, with a hundred thousand of my brave Tipperary boys, I would soon drive them into the sea before me." This was said in the warmth and wantonness of the moment; a

sort of rhetorical apostrophe, not intended to go beyond mere rhetoric ; but the shout or rather the thunder of fierce voices, with which it was simultaneously sent back, spoke volumes of dread and danger. The commission from the Marquess of Anglesey was forgotten ; the *if* was forgotten ; they already imagined themselves in full pursuit. Nothing was remembered but O'Connell, and his hundred thousand men.

But these things commencing not merely in perfect innocence, but in the best and most laudable intentions, now began to wear a most serious aspect. An insult offered to a priest by a policeman during one of these processions in the northern part of the county of Tipperary, had been resented in the most summary manner. The character of the county blazed out at once, and the barracks were destroyed in a moment. Sunday after Sunday, new exhibitions, greater numbers, a bolder tone, a more menacing attitude, became conspicuous. The clergy at last grew alarmed : they found that their influence had touched its limits. In another week, it is not unlikely it might have altogether ceased. They applied to the leaders of the Association still remaining at Clonmell. Mr. O'Connell had left it the day after the Provincial meeting for the county of Kerry. These gentlemen

conferred together, the result was, that Mr. Sheil promised, the moment he returned to Dublin, he would bring the alarming nature of these assemblages before the consideration of the Association. If necessary that they should still continue, the reconciliation might be effected between the chiefs of the respective factions; but, at every sacrifice, the meetings themselves were to be got rid of. An address from the Association, supported by the advice and entreaties, if possible in person, of its members, would no doubt have its due effect. But the execution to be effectual should be prompt. Mr. Sheil on his arrival in Dublin, in two or three days afterward, in an eloquent speech, laid the case before the Association. His alarms seemed to many, premature and exaggerated, but to any person who had been a witness of the scenes they described, they must have appeared but to have been too well grounded. The address passed,* and was instantly transmitted to the

* Mr. Sheil worked with the utmost activity. In one of his late speeches he states, " By a vote of the Association his friend Mr. Conway had been requested to retire to the adjoining apartment to draw up an address; and while the Association continued in deliberation, his ready and powerful pen, over which on that occasion the good genius of Ireland surely presided, was engaged in framing that docu-

country. Its effect was what had been anxiously hoped for. The ferment instantly subsided—a new proof was produced of the omnipotence of the Association. About the same time Mr. Lawless, by a similar mandate, was suddenly and instantly recalled, and the promptitude of the measure atoned, in some degree, for the inconsiderateness with which such enormous chances had been hazarded. In the very same week that this sudden excitation had reached its climax in Tipperary, Mr. Lawless had attempted to enter Ballybay. Had he not been saved by a most providential combination of circumstances from prosecuting his intention, it is dreadful to think what might have been the awful results. A defeat of the crowd, who accompanied him, would have been followed up by a carnage;—the carnage, by a massacre of the Catholics of the North. Their brethren of the South would not have looked on—hundreds and thousands would have marched from Munster—a counter massacre—a Sicilian Vespers, perhaps, would have taken place. Ireland, ere the arm of the most vigilant government could

ment, which upon its presentation by its author, was passed by acclamation and without a notice, printed immediately, despatched by the mail, and in three short days tranquillised the country.”

have interposed, would have been stained,—would have been deluged, with Irish blood.

The Proclamation of the government appeared a few days after, and added new force to the Address of the Association.* Without it, the

* “When I last left Clare,” says Mr. Steele, referring to the effect of these addresses, “and passed through Tipperary on my way to the Rotunda meeting in Dublin, the people came about me in crowds: I addressed them, thanked them upon the part of the Association, of my friend, and myself, for obeying our injunctions. What was their answer? Why it was this:—‘Agh! to be sure we did, Sir,—we valued the wind of the word from ye more than all the bullets they could fire at us.’” But this submission was still very precarious. “I know,” says he a few days after in a speech at the Rotunda, “I know the people thoroughly, and I here say that no power in nature, except the influence of the Catholic Association, keeps them, or can keep in tranquillity; but unless something be done by the government of the nature prayed for by the petition, *how long they may continue to be tranquil is a thing impossible to anticipate, and a thing which it is direful to contemplate.*” It was this, and the sense that the continuance of such tranquillity depended as much on the Orangemen (over whom they had no control) as on themselves, that most excited the apprehensions of the Association. Sir Harcourt Lees answered to government for the forbearance of the North, as Mr. O’Connell did for the forbearance of the South. All this was well as things then stood; but had a blow been struck, a single drop of blood been spilt, could either of them for a day longer have made good their engagements?

country would have been still exposed to all the violence of riot and insurrection. It would have been in the power of any body of three or four hundred Orangemen to have produced a rebellion. They had but to attack,—the Catholics would have resisted ;—between attack and resistance, the work would have been done.

To support the edict of the government, troops were poured into Ireland. They were unnecessary in the South. It is fortunate they were so. Since the peace, most of the English regiments had been recruited by Irish, most of the Protestant regiments by Catholics. The 21st Fusileers, a Scotch regiment, was marched to Waterford from Bath, at a moment's warning. They landed with the impression that the campaign had already commenced. They found every thing friendly and quiet. During the night, shouts for " O'Connell and the Association " were heard from every side of the town, from the straggling soldiery. Half of them were Irish, and every Irishman a Catholic. The same things occurred in other regiments. It was difficult to say how far they could be relied on.* But

* It is well known that persons of the first military distinction have expressed opinions not very dissimilar. " There are two ways of firing, says one of these soldiers, *at* a man and *over* a man ; and if we were called out against O'Con-

the turbulence and disaffection were not in the South, and against the North no men could be more effective than the Catholic regiments. During the entire administration of the Marquess of Anglesey, he never once had occasion to move troops from the North to the South. The necessity had always lain precisely in the opposite direction. The fact was, his name did more than any army. He had been in the South during the summer himself, and left his influence, the benign influence of a paternal government, behind him. The Irish Catholic, of every class, was individually attached to him: next to Mr. O'Connell, he was the most power-

nell and our country, I think we should know the difference." And how could it have been otherwise? the war would have been a war of religion, as well as of patriotism. Previous to the alteration in the law, allowing the Irish Catholic soldier the free use of his religion, many of the priests had declared, that they considered themselves bound to deter the Catholic peasantry from entering the army. In case of a general convulsion, is it impossible that a similar influence might have been exerted in a similar, or perhaps a still more dangerous manner? The superior officers of the army did not always take the necessary means to neutralise this feeling. The distinctions made between the two persuasions (an instance occurred at Kilkenny) produced a profound impression, both on the soldiery and the townspeople. The circumstance was trifling, but the inferences were most important.

ful man in Ireland. They did not ask whether it was the government, but whether it was the Marquess, who wished it. Government, in the mind of an Irish Catholic, until the period of his administration, was associated with nothing but oppression. But the Marquess was regarded as a protector against this oppression; he attached them to government by the manner in which he wielded it.

When the Catholic Association had somewhat recovered from the tumult into which these perilous experiments had thrown them, they began to congratulate themselves on their fortunate escape. The lightest evil which could have befallen them, was another dangerous attempt to suppress the Association. The fire which lit it would not have been extinguished, but scattered; but, in the mean time, there would have succeeded a new series of coercive measures,—suspension of the Habeas Corpus act—arbitrary arrests—vindictive trials—midnight retaliations;—and by another and not less rapid route than that which has already been alluded to, inevitable anarchy and civil war. The government could not suppress the Association without seizing the leaders; they could not seize the leaders without risking an immediate convulsion. To encounter even the probability of such a con-

clusion, it would have been necessary to have at least in preparation one hundred thousand men. But the Association had scarcely redeemed one error, when they were on the point of precipitating themselves into another. In the ensuing month of November, the question of "Exclusive Dealing" was started. The debates on its expediency were numerous and prolonged. Had the resolution passed into a measure, and had the measure been carried into effect, neither the arms of the King, nor the anathemas of the church, nor the parchment of the law, could have prevented in a few months, the total disorganization of Irish society, and reduced the Minister to the alternative of a war of extermination, or a hurried and reluctant concession of Catholic claims.

The first idea of this tremendous instrument was suggested by the non-intercourse resolutions of 1782. The proposition was brought before the Association by a respectable Catholic solicitor, Mr. Forde; but, as it was then understood, with the cognizance and under the sanction of Mr. O'Connell. After some discussion it was deemed right that the sense of the country should be taken, and the question was for a considerable period adjourned. The government, awakened to the very alarming results,

which necessarily would have followed from such an abrupt interference with all the commercial, and finally with all the social relations of both countries, judiciously took such measures in private as might tend to neutralise or defer the impending danger. Lord Cloncurry also appeared in the Association, and argued with great force against it. The question was not finally negatived, but delayed. The final debate was fixed for the 11th of December. On that day the Association rooms were crowded at an early hour to excess, and a considerable group of citizens were assembled in anxious expectation of the result round the door. It excited intense interest amongst all classes; no measure had yet been in agitation, which appeared so deeply and vitally to involve every interest in the country. After some preliminary discussion on the projected mission* to England, Mr.

* The mission to England, as it was called (the name was an unfortunate one), was designed for the purpose of pleading in person the cause of emancipation before the English public. From what has since occurred in most of the meetings held with such objects in that country, little doubt can exist that it would have been eminently unsuccessful. The supporters of the measures all along went on on the present plan (a very important error), that the lower and middle classes of Englishmen were radically the same, and equally accessible to the appeals of sound reason. They are two

O'Connell stood up to bring in the report of the

different nations: one is not to be judged of by the other. The peasantry of Kent, Devonshire, &c. led in as they were, but far more blindly and more slavishly by their parsons and their landlords than any Irish freeholder by his priests, would not have listened to a single word from Mr. O'Connell. Such men as the freeholders of Lord Winchelsea at Penenden Heath, who only knew they must vote for the name which was placarded on their waggon,—the freeholders of Brixham, marched in by their rector Mr. Leyte, at the rate of three shillings a head,—would have been the sort of audience that the Irish missionaries would have had to encounter. Even their own aristocracy, for whom in other matters they have the most profound and habitual respect, were defied and maltreated; what could an Irish Catholic associator have expected? They might have turned out confessors, or perhaps martyrs, in the good cause, but it may be doubted whether they could have had to record very many miracles or conversions. In the large commercial towns, indeed, it is very probable they would have been heard with attention. But then the large towns did not require instruction. When once an Englishman can be brought to listen, it is proof sufficient that he is already enlightened. The project never took even in Ireland; it had been brought twice forward, and failed. Even on the best occasion, with all the incentives produced by the Penenden Heath business, and the admirable intrepidity of Mr. Sheil, together with the additional lure of a ballot, it did not, nor could it succeed. The very gentlemen honoured by the confidence of their countrymen declined. The small number of those who balloted is scarcely less indicative of this feeling. From the following statement, compared with the numbers on the books of

committee,* and proposed that they should pass to the order of the day. A desultory conversa-

the Association, it will appear that this assertion is perfectly correct.

Daniel O'Connell	.	.	.	97
Richard Sheil	.	.	.	94
Thomas Wyse	.	.	.	91
O'Gorman Mahon	.	.	.	82
William M'Dermott	.	.	.	80
T. M. Murphy	.	.	.	80
M. D. Bellew	.	.	.	58
Montesquieu Bellew	.	.	.	55
Dominick Ronayne	.	.	.	37

* This report was highly interesting. It was the report of the committee appointed to examine how far the system of Exclusive Dealing, particularly in reference to servants, had been carried on by the anti-Catholics. Mr. O'Connell stated, "that he had been directed to report that the committee had discovered and ascertained, that there had existed for a considerable time, and to a great extent, persecution by bloodhound bigots, and that this persecution had been carried into all the departments of life. (*Hear, hear!*) This persecution had been carried into every trade and every profession; but it has principally been adopted to the great injury of one unfortunate class in society, the poor Catholic servants." (*Hear, hear!*) "We could bring into our report," said he, "the most precise details, but we have not done so, as we did not think it right to inflame the public mind more upon this subject than it is at present; and besides, we scorned to immortalise by exposure those who have been guilty of it in the manner that their criminality deserves."

tion ensued, and Mr. O'Connell agreed to defer his observations. Mr. Forde then brought forward his motion. The wording was judicious and moderate. It was vehemently opposed by Mr. O'Gorman, who moved a condemnatory amendment,* which, after a highly animated but very

(*Hear ! and cheers.*) One class I have stated have particularly suffered,—the Catholic servants,—and the sufferings have been increased since the time of the memorable declaration made by Dr. Magee in the House of Lords. Since then many and many have been the victims and the martyrs, many have been murdered by that cruel and emaciating persecution; for I call it *murder*. Whether the death of a human being be hastened by the horrors of starvation, or by the gun of the Orangeman, or the yeomanry bayonet, the crime is equally detestable in the eye of God, and the opinion of every good man. (*Hear, hear !*) Yes, I repeat it, a persecution of this nature has been carried on by the Brunswickers, and the '*backing*' system has by them been acted on to a frightful extent." Mr. Forde's motion was not then an act of unprovoked hostility; the worst name which could be given it, was that of retaliation; in many instances it was an act of simple self-defence.

• *Mr. Forde's original motion*—Resolved, That we deem it necessary to recommend to the people of Ireland, not to deal with notorious Orangemen; and further, that a preference in dealing should be given by Roman Catholics to those who dissent from them in religion, but who may have proved by their acts that they are friendly to civil and religious liberty.

Mr. O'Gorman's amendment—That although it appears

orderly debate of six hours, was finally negatived; as well as the original motion of Mr. Forde. The motion of Mr. O'Connell, warmly supported by Mr. Wyse, Mr. H. Curran, and opposed by Mr. Lawless, Mr. Norton, &c. was then put and unanimously carried at half past ten. This decision was received with approbation by a majority of the country, and once more relieved the government from a position scarcely less difficult than any in which it had yet been placed.

The first result of such a measure, if indeed it could have been reduced to practice, would have operated in the most decisive manner on the entire country. A few weeks before, a tolerably

by the report now made, and by abundant proof, that the anti-social and uncharitable system of recommending exclusive dealing, has been extensively acted on by the opponents of the Catholics, and was also sanctioned if not recommended by the tenor of the evidence reported to have been given by the Right Rev. Dr. Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, before a committee of the House of Lords, we the Catholic Association repudiate the baneful and illiberal example of such recommendation, and declare that we deem that principle to be inconsistent with Christian charity and Catholic principles, social order and good fellowship, and unworthy of the advocates of the glorious cause of civil and religious liberty, and of men contending for an equality of civil rights on the great grounds of universal liberty of conscience and freedom of opinion.

• Seconded by the Rev. Mr. Murray.

clear illustration of its probable effects was presented in the county of Wexford. One of the directors of the Wexford Provincial Bank, a Mr. Hughes, happened to attend a Brunswick meeting. The people, alive to the slightest circumstance connected with their cause, resolved upon a system of immediate retaliation. During the next day, the most profound silence and secrecy prevailed, under cover of which, and through the intervention of the Clubs and the Rent collectors, the country people were quietly organised for the intended attack. This done, a simultaneous run commenced upon the Bank, and continued until every provincial note in their possession had been exchanged for gold. The panic spread, and without any more obvious reason than the usual cry of insecurity, *saute qui peut*—a similar run took place in Clonmell, and then in Kilkenny, and it was apprehended it would progressively extend to the entire of the South of Ireland. The Provincial Bank adopted the most prompt and decisive measures. In one week it got over not less than 1,500,000*l.* in gold.* This supply was of the utmost conse-

* The commercial power exhibited by this establishment is above praise or parallel in commercial history, and realised the assurances given at its formation, that they would substitute a permanent and secure system of banking for that

quence. It restored confidence ; but pending the discussions on “ Exclusive Dealing ” in the Association, such was the well-grounded apprehension of the Board, that it was ordered to be retained until the proposition should have been satisfactorily disposed of. The Provincial Bank is conducted by Catholics and Protestants conjointly, and enjoys a large share (justly merited) of the public confidence. If such an incident as the run upon a single branch bank produced such large remittances from its parent establishment in London, the universal demand of so large a population as the Catholics of Ireland, could not have been answered without the utmost difficulty. But the exclusive or non-intercourse system would not have operated immediately, but collaterally, on the banks. The first effects would have been felt in the humbler walks of trade. The Catholic population, according to their census returns, would not be much less than eight millions. Supposing the average expenditure of each person to be only threepence per day, the yearly expenditure would be 36,500,000*l*. By a late official return from the directors of the Bank of Ireland, it appeared that bank-notes circ- which in 1820 involved the whole of the South of Ireland in bankruptcy.

culated from ninety to one hundred days. The whole circulating medium, including the surplus issues and the bank-notes of all other establishments, amounted to 7,000,000*l.*, and this, turned four times in the year, made only 28,000,000*l.*, of which the Catholics could control 21,000,000*l.*, leaving the remainder to be divided between the necessities of the liberal and illiberal Protestants. Then came the landed proprietors—they possess certainly the fee of the country, and spend the greater portion of the rents abroad: but as they receive their rents but *twice* a year, or rather *once*, in most of the southern districts, they could not have much influence on the circulation. The effect of this system of retaliation in the Catholic districts would thus have been complete. It would have extinguished Protestant trade, in many instances, peremptorily and altogether. In the North the injuries would have been more balanced. But the Catholics would not have rested here: they would have attacked the Bank of Ireland. Nine-tenths of the stock is held by Catholics. The Catholics, however, by a by-law (neutralising the concession of the bill of 1793), were excluded from the directorship. They had, therefore, as good ground as in the case of servants, &c. &c. for retaliation. The resolution of Mr.

Forde was intended to be followed up, if necessary, by a second, calling on the proprietors of Bank of Ireland stock to sell out and immediately convert into gold. This resolution would have been easily passed, in case the Question had been again rejected. Indeed, no effectual opposition could be offered to it: Mr. O'Connell, or any of the other leaders, had they been so disposed, would have only incurred by such opposition, a very unnecessary disgrace. A general run on the same day from every part of Ireland on the branch banks was contemplated, and would, if practicable,* have also been organised on the same principle as the run on the Bank of Wexford, and no doubt with the same success. The result would have been, the immediate withdrawal of a large proportion of the

* Fortunately, at that time the Bank of Ireland notes were only payable in Dublin, the act which had passed the previous session (1828), compelling all banks in Ireland to pay at the places where they issued notes, did not come into operation until April 1829. But the provincial bank had from the commencement framed its engagements upon this principle. This probably was the only cause why the pressure fell upon that establishment alone: indeed its liberal constitution, as compared with all other similar establishments, should have protected it until the last; and therefore the attack can only be accounted for by the state of the law.

seven millions usually in circulation in bank paper from England, and an immediate loss upon such circulation, to the Bank.* It is very immaterial too whether the whole of such sum would be actually drawn : the apprehension of such a sum being wanted, would as effectually work the effect proposed, as if actually such sum had been put into circulation. The gold, if not in the hands of the peasant, must be in the bank to meet him ; in either case it would be necessary to withdraw it from the English market. The bearing of so sudden a transition on the commercial transactions of that country, particularly in the existing depressed state of trade, can easily be imagined. The panic of 1820 left for many years behind it the most fatal traces. But in Ireland the effects would have been tremendous. It would instantly have limited all discounts to such a degree, that half of the commercial establishments must suddenly and inevitably have perished. Most of the Irish merchants are,

* The state of the currency of Ireland, so late as the month of March in this year, is without parallel. Though the paper currency is issued exclusively by public banks of undoubted solvency, so great was their apprehension, that to support a currency of 7,000,000, it is notorious they held 4,500,000 of gold in their coffers, besides about 300,000 in silver coin.

comparatively speaking, retailers, and dependent entirely on the English manufacturers for their supply.* The impossibility, in conse-

* It is very true, that English commerce would not be at all affected in the same proportion as Irish; but the effect on Irish would be so violent and extensive, by a rigid adherence to the system in contemplation, that the government could not but feel, in a very short time, a large portion of the same embarrassment. Of the 60,000,000*l.* which England exported in 1827, Ireland did not import more than 16,000,000*l.* Compare that with the enormous home expenditure of England, and it will perhaps appear a mere feather in the scale. But the very poverty which this return indicates has prevented any very considerable masses of capital from forming in Ireland. Most of the wholesale dealers are importers from English manufacturers, and bear to them the same relation that their own retailer does to the wholesale merchant. All these men are absolutely dependent upon the fluctuation of the home markets. Before so violent a change as that proposed, they would have been all in one way or the other crushed. Injurious effects upon the taxes (at least such as are derived from excisable articles) would have been next experienced. England annually (one year with the other) has 400,000*l.* imposed on her trade for the government of Ireland, and is obliged to make up at least 5,000,000*l.* in other ways for the deficit of the Irish revenue below the expenditure. This deficit would not be very likely to decrease under such circumstances, even on the presumption that the tranquillity of the people were such, as to require no marked addition to the armed force of the country. But who could, or who ought to count on *such* tranquillity, as black and as dangerous as gunpowder, where

quence of such a change as that just contemplated, of answering engagements, would have become universal. Bankruptcies would of course multiply in every direction: commerce would become perfectly stagnant: the same stagnation would by degrees be communicated to agriculture. The peasants would starve; the whole country would fall into a state of absolute pauperism: every one would require charity, and there would be none, or nearly none, to give it. To this add the frenzy of religious hate, the new rancours arising out of political separation, the alarm on every side, the danger justifying the alarm, revenge anticipating a general convulsion, and ambition desiring and promoting it; and then say what force, what power, moral or physical, could prevent such a nation from crumbling abruptly to pieces, or rescuing herself from the intolerable burden, by some fierce and sudden effort at redemption.

a simple spark falling, would instantly produce the most appalling explosion? The very fear of such a catastrophe would require as many precautions, and nearly as high an expenditure, as the actual reality.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE LATE
CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND.

By THOMAS WYSE, Esq. JUN.

" Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

HORAT. EPIST. LIB. I.

IN TWO VOLS.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE LATE

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, &c.

CHAP. I.

Protestant sympathy—Society for the Improvement of Ireland—Coalition of the liberal Protestants—Protestant Declaration—Dinner of the friends of civil and religious liberty to Lord Morpeth—Recall of the Marquess of Anglesey—Meeting at the Rotunda—Petition to parliament—Address to the King—The King's speech—The dissolution of the Association.

WHILST the two contending parties were now closing more nearly upon each other, and the awful crisis which would soon have been beyond all human control seemed every day more visibly approaching, a third party appeared in the country, to whose consolidation (in concurrence with the preceding circumstances) the Catholics were mainly indebted for the success which at last terminated their eventful struggle. But it was by a series of very delicate measures, and gradual arrangements,

that this consolidation was brought about. The liberal Protestant for a long period was affected by the same habitual indifference to existing evils, which had formerly characterised the Catholic himself. The immediate pressure of danger did more than any sense of justice and fellow-feeling they might entertain for the calamities of their countrymen. But the time was fast approaching when Catholic or Protestant were no longer to be left a choice.

The liberal Protestant stood in a very peculiar position. Whilst the anti-Catholic party had remained passive, he testified for the struggles of his Catholic countrymen but a feeble and modified interest. The relics of old prejudices; the little inclination actively to interfere in concerns which did not immediately affect himself; the disfavour which usually accompanies voluntary displays of devotion to the popular cause, were very powerful drawbacks upon his zeal and exertions. But there were other motives, arising out of existing circumstances, which had a far more direct and repulsive effect upon his sympathies. The Catholic Association generally, but especially the individuals who were supposed to have the greatest weight and influence in its proceedings, were accused of a very injudicious and inexcusable

disregard, both in deed and language, to the feelings and opinions of others. It is quite true, that the provocation to such intemperance was great and frequent; that the excess has been far surpassed, especially in later times, by the excesses of their adversaries; and that much and reasonable apology may be made for such violations of public propriety, by the consideration of the usual habits of all popular assemblies. But these redeeming circumstances did not in the slightest degree palliate or neutralise the impressions which they conveyed to all classes of the Protestant community. The Catholic, separated by the anti-social influence of the penal laws from the Protestant, did not feel in its full force the result of these errors. He habitually and exclusively associated with men who were not only aggrieved in precisely the same manner with himself, but who, generally speaking, with very few exceptions, sought for relief from their grievances precisely by the same means. What other men would have regarded as violence, the Catholic considered as a natural and manly resistance to admitted wrong: he applauded the overflowings of more deep sources of indignation, which he felt equally in his own bosom: he looked with admiration on the man who took the fiercest tone, who barbed

his shafts with the keenest poison, who winged them most directly and fearlessly to the heart of his antagonist. But the liberal Protestant stood in a very different position. His ordinary associates for the most part were opposed to him in opinion; he had to contend with their arguments, and what to most men is far more difficult, with their scoffs: instead of receiving in the evening any portion of that meed of applause, which usually repaid the exertions of the Catholic, and consoled him for the abuse of his enemies, he had to enter into an apology of his conduct, and to take up the defence of men, and of proceedings, who, however they might merit every approbation in mass, were extremely objectionable in details. The difficulties of this disheartening warfare were still farther increased by the Catholics themselves. Many of the most earnest supporters of their cause were often, with very little inquiry, heedlessly included in the sweeping denunciations, with which the good and the bad, the friend and the enemy, were sure to be visited in some way or other, during the course of the annual debates of the Association. A friend, who perhaps had been contending with his whole force the night before in maintaining the claims and deserts of the body, not unfrequently found himself rewarded for his chi-

valry the next day in the Association, by some sneer at his lukewarmness, or some coarse and unmerited invective against his principles, the injustice of which he had no means of repelling, but by entering into direct and personal explanation, and perhaps collision, with parties who, except from their connexion with such a cause, had little or no title to his respect. Such things are with difficulty to be separated from assemblies in a state of perpetual excitement like the Catholic Association : in Ireland, they are particularly so ; and every Irishman, who could reason largely on the subject, naturally extended to them for these reasons no small share of his sufferance and indulgence. But the party of which we are speaking, seldom were so general and philosophic in their views : they considered only the personal wound, and the momentary result. Disgusted and indifferent, and at last fatigued with fighting in a cause in which they had so few to sympathise with, and no allies, they retired gradually from all intermixture with these proceedings,* and

* There was an obvious falling off of Protestant sympathy and interest from 1825 to the middle of 1828. There had been no attempt to repeat the meetings of 1819, or the petitions of grand juries, counties, &c. &c. The attendance also on Catholic dinners was much less frequent, numerous,

finally surrendered the Catholics to themselves.

Another circumstance, which very much added to this reserve, was the inconsistency with which Protestant support was treated by the Catholics themselves. At one time they rejected it with affected contempt; at another, they talked of it as the only means by which emancipation could be accomplished; as if a nation of six millions of men, cordially and constantly united, had not in their *own* hands (reason the matter as they might) the *sure* and simple means of their final liberation. If by chance a small gentleman of the favoured caste, calculating often his own personal interests much more closely than the public good, happened to drop in amongst their thousands, frequently headed by the representatives of the oldest families in the land, they blazoned forth, in the most fulsome terms, "the honour which had been done them; the kindness in thinking of them; the condescension in honouring them with his presence;" and poured out, with a disgraceful profusion, votes of thanks to "the distinguished

and respectable. Compare the first Provincial meeting of Munster with the last. Even the Protestant petition of 1827 had but a few hundred signatures. In the summer of 1828, Protestant feeling had reached its lowest ebb.

and liberal Protestant guest," who sate down on the same bench, or deigned to eat of the same meats with a Papist. It was absurd for Catholics to speak after this, of their spirit of freedom, and their indignation at the unjust inequality which the laws had established between the two religions; their own resolutions fully seconded the efforts of the laws :—no more glaring instance could be offered of the deep debasement which had been entailed upon every thing Catholic by the penal Code. Every man, who felt within himself the sentiment of what freedom really was, though not actually in possession or enjoyment of the gift, must have blushed at this deep, national humiliation; and many no doubt there were who did so blush; but the expediency system was constantly urged, and it was thought that conciliation could only be purchased at the vile price of this unnatural servility. A result the very opposite to what the Catholics had expected, usually took place. If the Protestant had any principle of highmindedness within him, he must have considered such unmeasured contributions to his vanity as insincere and profligate. The less wise, or the less charitable, attributed it, not to the obvious influences of a long state of moral and political oppression, but to the religion, which the oppressed happened to

profess. They often retained in the midst of their proffers of assistance, sentiments hostile to the creed, and contemptuous to its professors. Habituated from an early period to a consciousness of rule—a consciousness encouraged by every thing with which he was surrounded,—it was next to impossible that he should not accept this admission of superiority, conferred with such anxiety by the Catholics, not as proof of their desire of union, but as a natural right, to refuse which would have been injustice, and to concede which, was mere duty. Such a class of liberals (how many usurped the name, with little title to the reality!) immediately assumed the patronising air of masters; set up their protection as an object of competition to contending parties; volunteered superciliously their counsels; and insulted with their tardy and capricious assistance; until at last the Catholics, revolting from the dependence which they had been unfortunately the first to encourage, turned round with fierceness, and altogether rejected, in a moment of irritation, both co-operation and advice.

Such was the situation of the Protestants who avowed themselves favourable to the concession of the Catholic claims; for several years previous to the events which we have just been

detailing—when, with a view probably of concentrating whatever was still liberal in the country, or preventing the Association from altogether absorbing the public interest, in a manner which was considered by those who saw but a small portion of the general system, as highly detrimental to the cause, or perhaps with no other object than a vague desire of benefiting the country, without much inquiry into the means by which it was to be effected, a society under the designation of a “Society for the Improvement of Ireland,” was set on foot, and commenced its sittings in the Mansion House, under the immediate auspices of the Lord Mayor. It was open to all sects and to all classes;—was intended to be confined to the simple consideration of the agricultural and commercial interests of the country;—of course excluded politics;—and was to apply to Government and Parliament for the purpose of carrying its plans into effect for their support. So many of these joint-stock experiments (not more wisely constructed in general than the academies of Laputa) had of late attracted and deceived the public, that no great confidence or interest was excited in the Irish mind by the first proceedings of the new society. They prophesied for it over its very cradle, an ephemeral and useless

existence. They already laughed over its early and untimely death. The prophecy was soon accomplished. After an inefficient series of meetings, in which various plans were brought forward and discussed, on the drainage of the bogs of Ireland, on the execution of a ship-canal, &c. &c. the Society gradually relaxed in exertions, which were neither assisted by the Government nor the country, and its meetings were for a while suspended, rather from the voluntary secession of the members than by any formal act of the body itself. It was found, that as long as the Catholic question continued unsettled, the public mind would also continue so totally absorbed by its consideration, that it would be absurd to expect such a degree of attention as could insure even the slightest encouragement to any plan of national improvement. This fact, which had presented itself to the Catholics in a great variety of forms, and has been amongst the worst of the many evils consequent upon delay, was now placed in the clearest point of view before the nation at large. This was a great benefit, but it was destined to be the forerunner of many others of much higher importance. The first conclusion which every rational man drew, from the evidence which such a failure so strongly exhibited, was, that nothing could be done, until the ques-

tion was finally settled, for any portion of the country; and the next, that every man at all interested in its improvement or prosperity, was, by his duty and interests, sacredly obliged to give every aid in his power to promote as speedily as possible a settlement, which had now become not merely desirable, but absolutely necessary.

These impressions might have continued for a considerable time longer to hover loosely and idly over the public mind, had not the late measures of the Association and the Catholic body at large, pressed more and more immediately the decision of the liberal Protestants. They soon found themselves in a situation, which they could scarcely have anticipated. They thought the question would have been temperately and gradually adjusted by the gentle ebbing of ancient prejudice, and the constantly augmenting majorities in the Commons, by a necessary induction, would finally produce the just influence which public opinion, expressed by its most popular organ, must always produce upon the temper and decision of the Lords. Whilst this slow battle was going on, their course of proceeding appeared obvious and easy. A few speeches at public dinners—a few votes in either House—two or three complimentary letters, in return for

votes of thanks; all this did not require any great expenditure of time, talent, or patriotism; and in the mean time the Catholics might be safely entrusted with the management of their own cause, and their friends maintain their privilege of censuring or commending at a distance. Nothing could be apprehended from the Association. There was then no other body in direct collision with it. A few violent speeches, or even a few violent resolutions, on the part of their adversaries, could carry with them no intrinsic weight; they defeated their objects generally by their very violence. The passion for oratorical display is an original sin of the Irish, but it has never produced consequences more fatal to the peace of a country than any other theatrical exhibition. The liberal Protestant sat quietly looking on—read his article in the *Edinburgh Review*, or the *Morning Chronicle*—prophesied that some time or other the question would be carried—regretted the obstacles which the Catholics had thrown in their own way—trusted to the gradual illumination of the lower classes in England, and then sipped his tea, and proved to his *own* satisfaction that he had fully done his duty.

But in a few—a very few months indeed—all this was destined to undergo the most thorough

alteration. The Provincial and other meetings, the Churchwarden system, the Liberal Club system, were not sufficient to disturb them from their repose. These were things which, though containing within them the principles of mighty change, did not strike the senses of men; but when the Clare election fell like the blast of the trumpet amongst them, they then, for the first time, suddenly awoke, and found the Catholic Association on one hand, and Brunswick Clubs on the other, like long lines of hostile intrenchments, from north to south, from east to west, threatening and frowning on each other through the entire country,—then indeed did they begin to think, that the time had come, and fully come, for something more than fair words, and that they must make their election, and make it instantly, between the ranks of either army. The neutrals bring about revolutions; and the Athenian legislator showed not only a just sense of the nature and working of political institutions, but a deep insight into the first principles of human nature itself, when, by a formal law in his republic, he rendered them infamous. The liberal Protestants could not practise this coward moderation. They ran risk of being crushed by the closing, and conflict of either power. They were alternately driven

from one to the other, until they had at last the prudence—the inevitable prudence—clearly and irrevocably to decide between them. A crisis had arrived for Ireland. It was doubtful on what side, whether for evil or for good, the trembling balance would determine. Add to this the stings of mortified pride. The Catholics were a nation contending for freedom; the anti-Catholics were haughty masters, who fought for mastership; but the men, neither Catholic nor Orange, who stood between the masters and the nation, were distrusted by one party, despised by the other, and finally sunk into the servants of both. The English nation knew them not; Protestantism knew them not; the anti-Catholics assumed that they were the only Protestants and the only Loyalists in Ireland. It was full time for them to take the attitude which became them; it was full time to disabuse the Empire. A few fell off to the opposite party; but the majority, when the hour of action could no longer be deferred, declared at last for the Catholic, and for Ireland.

But their first steps were uncertain, gradual,—perhaps timid. Circumstances demanded caution, and they were not principals in the quarrel. They had coolness and impartiality enough to be judicious. Their first measure

was not a petition, which had now become rather a hacknied mode of expressing public opinion, and required an arrangement of machinery not yet within their grasp. They wisely abstained from any concert or connexion with the Catholic Association. The object was to give an exclusively Protestant colour to their acts, and to rescue their measures, before the country and the legislature, from even the imputation of Catholic bias. The weight which such representations would carry with the legislature, would of course depend upon the exclusiveness and sincerity which characterised them. An echo of the Association would have produced an effect considerably inferior to the voice of the Association itself. This was good policy—the obvious wisdom of cool statesmen. Many Catholics quarrelled with it at the time; but it was not the first occasion that the Catholics required to be saved from themselves. Their first measure was temperate, simple, and above all comprehensive.* A declaration, expressive of the deep

* It was something more than a petition—it was a guarantee for future co-operation. The first declaration did not meet the views of many gentlemen: a second was drawn up, with some trifling variations in the phraseology. This was sound sense and real patriotism. It embraced every one.

sense which the Protestant noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland entertained of the situation of the country, and the firm conviction they felt that no remedy was now adequate to repress the evils which impended, which did not include Catholic Emancipation, was drawn up, and circulated through every part of the country. A similar document had been handed round the preceding year, principally through the untiring exertions of Sir Charles Morgan; but the Protestant mind, generally speaking, was not yet ripe for such an appeal, and it met with a very partial reception. The committee, to whom its management had been entrusted, was indefatigable. In a very short period, it received the most respectable signatures in Dublin, and the earnestness with which it was seconded in most parts of the interior, particularly in the South of Ireland, furnished convincing proof that the Protestant mind was at last fully kindled to a sense of the imminent dangers with which every class of citizens was surrounded, and convinced that it required the most united and instant efforts of all that was intelligent and liberal to ward them off ere it was too late from the country. The Declaration, in the space of a few months, was signed by two dukes, seven marquesses, twenty-seven earls, eleven

viscounts, twenty-two barons, two counts, twenty-two baronets, fifty-two members of the House of Commons, and upwards of two thousand gentlemen of other ranks, all of whom were personally interested in the condition of Ireland.

The convincing refutation which this document furnished to the assertions of the Brunswick Clubs, had a very important effect, not only on the mind of reflecting men in England, but scarcely in a less degree upon the spirit of the Protestants themselves. It proved to a demonstration, that a large proportion of Protestant rank, wealth, and intelligence, was ranged on the side of justice and conciliation, and little more was requisite to give it its full influence on the public opinion of the country, than a better mode of bringing it into action, and prolonging its power, by a constant and uniform combination.

. A circumstance unlooked for, and which had no immediate connexion with the measures actually in progress, contributed materially to elicit from both parties, that expression of cordial and determined union, which circumstances hitherto had unfortunately kept concealed. Lord Morpeth, the eldest son of Lord Carlisle, for whose co-operation in seconding Sir Francis Burdett's motion the Catholics felt themselves

extremely grateful, was on his return to England, after an extensive tour through Ireland, undertaken for the purpose of collecting juster views of the country, than is common to most Englishmen. The talents of this young nobleman, the influence which his name, and family, and ministerial connexions commanded, were second only to the high estimate which the Catholics had formed of his devotion to their cause. The Catholics resolved by a public dinner, to testify this sense of his services, and to give him and other Protestants an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the existing state of Catholic affairs. This testimony of public feeling was originally suggested by the Catholics, but the occasion was seized and improved on with great judgment and felicity, by their Protestant friends. The dinner was one of the most numerously attended which had yet been given in Dublin. The Duke of Leinster presided, supported by the Marquesses of Clanricarde and Westmeath. The tone of feeling which evinced itself at that important meeting, was fully commensurate to their most ardent hopes. All sectarian jealousy—all ancient rivalries were laid aside. A junction between both parties—an immediate, close, and earnest junction, was the hope and the desire expressed by every speaker. All sepa-

rate views, all party principles, were extinguished in the greatness of a common cause. The enemies of the Catholic and of the friends of the Catholic had united—the union of both had henceforth become a duty. The enthusiasm with which these declarations were received and returned, was the surest augury of final success. The advantages of such a combination had been long conspicuous—every man was now convinced of the facility with which it could be carried into execution. Before the evening festivities were over a requisition was circulated, convening a meeting of Catholics and Protestants, under the common and better denomination of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom, for the purpose of recording, in the most ample and decided manner, their joint opinions of the urgent necessity of immediate concession, and placing in a still more forcible view than had been yet attempted, before his Majesty's government, the large mass of national wealth and respectability which were anxious for such a final and early adjustment of the Question. The Requisition was signed by three hundred noblemen and gentlemen present, and transmitted for signatures to the country, accompanied by a series of firm and moderate resolutions, based on the celebrated resolutions

of Buckingham House, and the late Protestant Declaration, and expressive of the objects immediately intended by the proposed meeting. It was originally suggested that it should be held on the 11th of December, in concurrence with the Catholic aggregate meeting fixed for the same period, but finding that it would be more judicious to wait the convenience of the Irish members of either house, and to bring the opinions of so important an assembly as closely and directly as possible on the attention of parliament, it was ultimately postponed to the 20th of January, 1829, and appointed to take place on that day in the Great Hall of the Rotunda. In the interval the Duke of Leinster was requested to transmit, with as much expedition as possible, the Protestant Declaration to his Majesty's ministers, but in an especial manner to the Duke of Wellington, begging his most deliberate and mature consideration to the same. But in the mean time events took place of the most remarkable importance ; events which hurried to its close, with a rapidity beyond the calculations even of the most sanguine, the *dénouement* of this strange and eventful history.

Towards the close of December, a very remarkable production, from the hand of the Duke of Wellington, arrested the attention of the pub-

lic. A letter appeared in the public papers, addressed to the Catholic primate Dr. Curtis, on the subject which at that period engrossed the attention of the entire empire. It was extremely short and extremely obscure, involved in terms apparently contradictory, and written for purposes which did not appear at first sight very obvious. Recent circumstances have partially explained these difficulties; but there are points in the correspondence which still elude the curiosity of the inquirer. The impressions it produced were scarcely less diverse and conjectural, than the text of the letter itself. There was much special pleading on terms, and some exceptions taken to a variation in the copies; but, all these difficulties obviated, the surmises still continued very nearly as doubtful as before. Some read in the Duke's letter an unchangeable hostility to the Catholic claims, and congratulated themselves on having, in the permanence of the Duke's government, the best pledge for the continuance of that exclusive system, which it had hitherto been the object and effort of their entire policy to uphold. Others again, extracting from it with a studious complacency those passages only, which were favourable to their hopes, already saw, in the perspective indications of a change in the councils of government,

which seem strongly confirmed by the late speech of Mr. Dawson;* and the continuance in the administration of a nobleman so well known for his liberal opinions as the Marquess of Anglesey. This view, supported as it has since been by the late important events, had scarcely sufficient vouchers for it in the letter itself. The more rational opinion, arguing on preceding evidence, regarded it as little more

* Mr. Dawson was one of the first of his own party who reasoned on this alarming state of public affairs with the temper and philosophy of a statesman. No speech, previous to his justly celebrated speech at Derry, went so far into the real sources of the disease. His review of the external symptoms and the internal causes of the evils of Ireland, so studiously confounded, and so necessary to be distinguished, is just, clear, conscientious, and often eloquent. He fully comprehended the machinery and working of the great engine: the Association had been laid bare to his eyes; he had the courage and skill to exhibit it in all its truth to the eyes of others. The time also chosen for this service to the country, was happy. Mr. Dawson had shared, it is true, in great part, the impressions made on Mr. Brownlow by the examinations before the Committee on the state of Ireland in 1825; but it may be doubted whether he had then come to a determinate conclusion, like Mr. Brownlow. At all events, he gave the impulse, when the impulse was most necessary. He was totally ignorant of the change of opinion going on in the Cabinet. He had therefore the glory and the merit (and it is no slight one) of anticipating, and not following, the conversion of the ministers.

than a concise abridgment of the Duke's speech during the last Catholic debate in the Lords, and attributed to it no more importance than to any other effort which had formerly been made to keep things in that sort of balanced or neutral state, which might without further exertion, prorogue the necessity of decisive measures for a few years longer. But there were peculiarities connected with the present publication of a perfectly original nature: it must have excited the astonishment of an impartial person to find, that with all the avowed hostility to the priesthood and religion of the Catholics, and the continued resistance to a relaxation of the disabilities under which they laboured, a Popish bishop should have been selected at such a moment, and for such a communication, by the Premier of the empire, and such a premier as the Duke of Wellington. Why write on such a topic? why write to Dr. Curtis? why write at all? This surprise was farther heightened by a still more remarkable letter, which followed the Duke's a few days after. The Marquess of Anglesey addressed the same dignitary, but in a style very characteristically distinguished from that of the Duke of Wellington's. There was nothing dubious; nothing concealed; nothing contradictory. It expressed,

in temperate language—manly feelings—just opinions—ardent wishes, for the happiness and safety of the country. No document had lately appeared in Ireland so completely in accord with the character of the people. It was the open appeal of a high-spirited and anxious friend. The people accepted it, in the same spirit in which it was given. Acclamations of affectionate gratitude arose from all sides. The Marquess had no need of any other proclamation to subdue into perfect obedience the passions and spirit of the Catholic population. The anti-Catholic railed, or sunk into a sullen silence. The chief passages were made the watchwords of the country. If a disposition to riot was evinced, if the people forgot for a moment the interest of the cause, in the interests or passions of the individual, the name of Anglesey was sufficient charm to persuade them back into immediate tranquillity. “Constitutional agitation” was made the precept and the practice of every class. In the midst of these general felicitations, these good auguries for future success, this certainty that in their chief governor they had a protector, on whom, in the worst of times, all classes might impartially rely, a calamity, which had never been less calculated on than at such a moment, fell suddenly upon

the country. The Marquess of Anglesey was formally and peremptorily *recalled*.

It was some time before the public could recover from the astonishment, which this event produced. No individual of his Majesty's government seemed to be so entirely in the confidence, both of his Majesty and of his Minister, as the Marquess of Anglesey himself. Nothing could be more explicit than the expression of his political opinions previous to his acceptance of the important situation, with which he had been just entrusted.* Nothing could be more plain and direct, than every portion of his administration, from the first day in which he held the reins of the Irish government. Impartiality and fair play; lenitives and not coercives; a just appreciation (derivable from patient investiga-

* The Marquess had a conference with several members of the Opposition, with Lord Wellington, and finally an audience on the same day with his Majesty himself, which left no doubt on his mind, that his intended plan of government was perfectly well known, and approved of, by all parties. Lord Anglesey had not only been an emancipator at an early period, but from his repugnance to vote against the Question, resigned his seat in the House of Commons in 1801, when Mr. Pitt quitted the administration. Since that period, the Marquess has uniformly supported the Catholic Question, with the single exception of the vote which he gave in 1825; the result of a misconception, caused by the irritating language and conduct of the Association.

tion) of the real evils of Ireland, and of the real remedies most applicable to their cure, had been from the very outset the straightforward principles of his government. These principles, so far from having been concealed, were the boast and peculiar glory of the Marquess, to have extended to every part of his administration. The Duke of Wellington could not recently have come to a knowledge of what was in the eyes, or on the tongue of every one. No palpable violation of acknowledged subordination was obvious. Nothing that could justify a measure of extreme rigour, nothing above all which could explain the inconsistency of such an order having issued from a quarter to whom the Marquess was well known to be attached, not merely by the bonds of public duty, but by the still stronger ties of personal affection and regard.

The first impulse, was to attribute this extraordinary event to the letter of which we have been just speaking. But the passions or fears of individuals had more influence in such a judgment, than an accurate knowledge of the facts. The assertion was totally unfounded. The letter did not appear till several days after the order of recall had actually arrived.* Others

* On the 22nd, the Committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the proposed Rotunda meeting as-

again ascribed it to private pique—to circumstances arising out of the removal of Messrs. Steele and O'Gorman Mahon from the commission of the peace ;*—finally to the encon-

sembled, and on the day after a copy of the letter of the Duke of Wellington was sent from Dundalk to one of the members of the committee, and was by him transmitted to the Marquess of Anglesey. The following day, the 24th, the original was inclosed by Dr. Curtis to his Excellency, and it was very probable, as erroneous copies would soon get into circulation, it was thought right at once to publish it. On the 25th the letter of the Marquess was written and inclosed to Dr. Curtis, under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, injunctions which Dr. Curtis punctually obeyed. The 30th of December the Marquess received his letter of recall, dated on the 28th. Consultations were held on the 31st. It was debated, whether in the actual state of the country, and the apprehension which might legitimately be entertained, of immediate disturbances on the announcement of this measure, it would not be prudent to give publicity and circulation to the letter of the Marquess without farther delay. Then for the first time, and for purposes only of good, it was made known to the country. It is quite clear, from a comparison of these dates, that it had nothing to do with the conduct of the Duke of Wellington ; nor is it at all proved, that had it been known to his Grace, it would have been deemed *of itself*, a sufficient ground for a letter of recall.

* The two gentlemen in question had attended a Brunswick meeting in the county of Clare. The High Sheriff, apprehensive of a riot, had called in the military for the purposes of protecting it. Mr. O'Gorman Mahon had used in speaking to the military some expressions, not very

ragement which was said to be extended by the Marquess of Anglesey in a manner not exactly

complimentary to the High Sheriff. The High Sheriff lodged his complaint. It was inquired into. The necessary depositions were taken. No evidence sufficiently strong could be obtained against the accused. The words could not be sworn to; the facts could not be proved. The law authorities (scrupulously consulted on the occasion) declared that there being no *conviction*, there could be no *punishment*, and counselled the Marquess to dismiss the complaint. This was clear, common, English justice. But Ireland had not yet a title to the luxury. The gentlemen were members of the Association. They were the chief instigators and conductors of the Clare contest, and unfortunately they were also magistrates. The old arbitrary right or wrong system was still in operation. He was peremptorily deprived of the commission. If it were wrong for Mr. Mahon, being a magistrate (but not appearing as a magistrate), to use such expressions to the military, how much more incorrect for a High Sheriff in his official capacity to call a meeting, so obnoxious to public feeling as to require for its protection the presence of the military? If Mr. O'Gorman Mahon was to be punished, how comes it that the High Sheriff was not to be even censured? If British citizens are to be punished without conviction, what is the meaning of British justice? If magistrates are to be dismissible at the mere pleasure of the crown, that is, of the Castle clerks, how can magistrates be expected to act with impartiality? Does not the government create the *partisan*? what right afterwards has it to exclaim against the existence of the corruption or the faction to which such a conduct must necessarily give rise? The same spirit of action subsequently

in accord with the views of government, to the proceedings and leaders of the Catholic Association.* Portions of these reports were correct, and when taken in mass, they may have originated impressions which went far in deciding the conduct of the cabinet.† Whatever may

led to the dismissal of Mr. Steele from the magistracy, upon the alleged ground of his having addressed a meeting of the peasantry, in the county of Limerick, calling upon them, "through their allegiance to the Association," to remain peaceful and quiet.

* Lord W. Paget, Lord Forbes, &c. had appeared at the Association from motives of curiosity, once—so had Lord Ellenborough, &c. &c. Their visit was noticed—they did not repeat it. His Excellency never saw Mr. Sheil—saw Mr. O'Connell once—Mr. Lawless twice on a silk-trade deputation, and actually dined I believe twice with Lord Cloncurry: it is true Lord C. was a member of the Association; but Lord Cloncurry is also an excellent magistrate, an excellent country gentleman, and feels as much for the interests of Ireland as Mr. Gregory. Even this was not without a precedent. How came the present government to satisfy themselves, that the Duke of Richmond was not a united Irishman, after his dinner with Hamilton Rowan?

† The Marquess's recall was not to be ascribed to any one particular act, but the spirit and temper of his whole administration. The government on this side of the water had not emerged from the ignorance in which their predecessors had left them. Mr. Peel retained many of his Castle impressions, and it must be recollected that he had filled the office of Irish secretary at a period of all others the most

have been the principle of this very important change, the effect on the country was extraor-

calculated to impress anti-Catholic and anti-Irish opinions on the mind of a young Englishman. The Duke of Wellington, to a certain degree, might be comprised under the preceding observation, but his larger knowledge of mankind, and his contact with other churches and states than those of England, must have left him much more open than his colleague to the operation of facts. To such Ministers, the clear and energetic statements of the Marquess, again and again put forward, must have appeared startling. They were in no sort of harmony with the former partisan communications from the Castle, and appeared at first sight to have originated from some strange but concealed influence behind the vice-regal throne, in actual hostility to the government. This secret oracle was sought for. Mr. Gregory travelled into England for his health during the summer; and Lord Cloncurry, Hamilton Rowan, or the Catholic Association, were believed to have guided the pen and presided over the counsels of his Excellency. A correspondence ensued, on very unequal terms, and terminated, as all such correspondences usually do, in disgrace of the weaker party. But the Marquess may now summon in his vindication his very impugnors themselves. The policy for which the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel are lauded (and justly lauded), it will not be forgotten was the identical policy for which Lord Anglesey was condemned. At the same time it will be conceded, that the Duke stood in a very slippery position, and had great difficulties to contend with. His own correspondence is the best evidence how much he had to overcome, of prejudice, or indecision, or hostility, in the royal mind. Every rumour from Ireland proved a new obstacle. The Duke was anxious that

dinary. Apprehensions were entertained that it would lead to the most disastrous consequences. Nor were these apprehensions altogether unfounded or exaggerated. On a calm retrospect from the position in which we at present stand, it may be safely avowed, that to the judicious publication of the Marquess's letter some days previous, and to his calm conduct subsequent to his recall, the exemption from all violence *in this most critical* period is principally to be ascribed.*

the Marquess's conduct should be such as not to lend colour to these rumours: but they did not understand each other. The question now is, whether a little more frankness would not have been the better policy.

* "But how was it to be allayed? What measures could I adopt to subdue the ferment? I could not communicate with the Catholic Association: I could not address the leaders of whom I have spoken: I could not formally proclaim my wishes; yet I was urged to do something to avert a public calamity. My Lords, it then flashed across my mind that this eventful letter might possibly be turned to some account. Dr. Curtis had confided to me the Noble Duke's letter to him on the subject of the Catholic Question: I had replied to it. My letter was (as I before said) written in strict confidence—it was not meant to see the light—it was marked 'private and confidential';—and taking a lesson from the circumstance of the Noble Duke's letter to the same reverend person having become public, in consequence of his Grace having omitted to *mark* it private, and of his having franked the letter himself, I caused my letter

Addresses poured in on all sides, in spite of corporation and other opposition, wherever it could be offered, expressive of the profound regret with which the Catholics and liberals viewed this most sinister event. They regarded it in general, as the most emphatic expression which the Minister could have afforded of an immediate and entire change of system. The Catholics already prepared themselves for a recurrence of that reign of terror, which at a former period had searched with such dreadful energy to the very inmost parts of the social system. They saw oppressive measures one after one brought

to be franked by my Secretary, who, at the same time, wrote to desire that it might be considered as being written in my private character, and not as Lord Lieutenant. It is evident, then, that this letter was not meant for publication. I then said to these gentlemen—'Go to Dr. Murray (the person to whom alone the letter had been entrusted by Dr. Curtis); look at that letter; see if any good use can be made of it:—if so, I give up all private considerations for the public good. You may produce it, if necessary.' A consultation was held as to the expediency of publishing this letter; the parties who interested themselves in the subject, conceived that it contained the advice of a real friend to Ireland, and that it would be advantageous that its sentiments should be promulgated. The letter was accordingly made public."—*Marquess of Anglesey's Speech in the House of Lords, 4th May, on moving for papers relative to his recall from Ireland (published by authority).*

into fierce and uncontrollable action ; the country surrendered up to its old enemies for their disport ; the violent disruption of all the bonds of civil life ; the midnight massacre commencing ; new outrages justifying new oppression ; new oppression justifying new outrages ; till at last the entire country, no longer capable of enduring this intolerable state of things, should rush at once into flagrant war, and cast every interest to the bloody decision of the scaffold and the sword. The Orange faction viewed the exertion of the prerogative in a similar light. They already triumphed in the completion of their projects : that secret alliance between the crown and the faction, of which they had so often boasted in private, they now daringly and ferociously proclaimed : they called out from the north to the south, through all their clubs, to support the hands of his Majesty's government ; they looked forward to the renewal of their charter of misrule ; and whilst on one hand they heaped every description of factious abuse on the Marquess of Anglesey, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were placed on the altar of their idolatry, and worshipped with the most servile adulation, as the uncompromising champions of Protestant ascendancy.

The meetings of the Catholics, so far how-

ever from evincing any unworthy despondency on this momentous occasion, assumed a tone which was worthy of freemen, and called on all classes of their countrymen, ere it was too late, to interpose their influence and exertions, with their whole strength and their whole soul, between the country and destruction. The liberal Protestants, with less ardour, were not less earnest or less firm. During the government of the Marquess they had, for the first time, obtained a power and importance in the country as a party, to which till then, they had been utter strangers. Prior to his administration, a Catholic could scarcely have less chance of obtaining an audience from the all-powerful Castle Secretary than an avowedly liberal Protestant. They were not only without any consideration as a party, but even of that consideration to which individual rank, talent, or property, might have given them a legitimate claim; they were studiously defrauded, partly through the old spirit of official retaliation, and partly with a view to mark more strongly the reprobation of the Marquess's system. A person unacquainted with the absolutely partisan government of every thing Irish, during several years back, will find it impossible to form any just notions of the strict line of demarcation which had been established

between the Castle and the liberal party. Men the most distinguished amongst it, were not only treated with the most calculating indifference, but had not even the opportunity allowed them of a personal acquaintance with the ordinary ministers of the Executive. The results were obvious: every thing which came to the hands of government, came in a garbled and ex parte form. Nothing was done to consult the people: the only object of the entire government seemed to be, to feed the slave-master at the expense of the slave. This colonial system was broken up by the Marquess with a total disregard to all precedents of former misrule: the bureau influence was obliged to allow free passage for the representations of the country; the government came in contact with public opinion as it really existed; two sides and two pleaders were heard for the first time in the precincts of the Castle, upon every question of public policy. The liberal Protestants at length obtained their natural weight: their opponents, by coming into the lists with men perfectly well qualified to compete with them, were reduced to their natural dimensions. The liberal Protestants were satisfied, for they had public and generous objects in view: their antagonists were dissatisfied,—they looked chiefly

to the continuance of their habitual system of misrepresentation, and its natural consequence, monopoly. No body of men could then feel more deeply than the liberal Protestants, the departure of such a Viceroy. Their addresses faintly expressed the profound sentiments of regret and despondency which were heard during that critical pause between the two systems. Not only did they contemplate an instant relapse into all the ancient evils of Irish politics, but they apprehended, from the aid which they had recently given the Catholics, that their conduct would be visited with the most severe retaliation by the new government. Again, they would be compelled to retire to their former insignificance, or be delivered over, with additional circumstances of pain and contumely, to the insult and injuries of a triumphant enemy.

During all this period, the conduct of the Marquess of Anglesey was unexceptionable ; the most envious eye could not find a spot for the gratification of its malignity : to the Irish people it will be a subject, in all their fortunes, of the most affectionate recollection. No one approached him during those days of sorrow and apprehension, without being fully penetrated by the sincerity, the justice, the high and statesman-like spirit, with which it was his intention to

have governed Ireland. It was then chiefly, that men began to know how much they had lost. His kindliness tempering his dignity, but detracting in nothing from it; the sympathy with which his whole family united in the expression of the same feelings for Ireland, the impressive cordiality, the perfect forgetfulness of self in his parting counsels, won all hearts, and made him indeed the truly regretted of all the people. Few of the many deputations who approached him on that interesting occasion—and there were men of all classes—but left him with sentiments of almost personal regret. He was implored to continue till the Rotunda meeting, which was now approaching, should take place; but with that honourable anxiety to avoid whatever might bear even the imputation of personal pique, or opposition to his Majesty's wishes, which has ever characterised his conduct, he anticipated the meeting by a day or two, and left Ireland on the 18th of January.

The procession which accompanied him that day to Kingstown harbour, will not easily be obliterated from the memory of the Irish nation. The enthusiasm of the people was grave, profound, and taciturn. There was no unseemly riot; no turbulence; no invective: the blessings were not loud, but deep. Banners bearing

the passages of his letter, his last advice to the people, enwreathed in crape, were borne by the different trades before him ; a long suite of carriages followed : every class in the metropolis mingled. In the midst of all this crowd the eye anxiously sought out for the late Viceroy. The Marquess rode uncovered in the midst of his friends and fellow-soldiers, and saluted the people with an expression of mingled pain and pleasure : there were few guards ; an insignificant escort ; no troops : he went escorted by the affections of the people. Since the day of Lord Fitzwilliam—to which they often on that day likened it, with a prayer that it might not lead to a repetition of the scenes which so soon followed—nothing of the kind had been witnessed in Dublin. Thousands greeted him from the shore, as if with him had fled all hopes, and all chances for Ireland. He embarked amidst their blessings, and on his now passing from their sight, returned home in silence, to meditate on the misfortunes which seemed impending over their unhappy country.*

* I select one amongst the many addresses, presented on this memorable occasion. It contains a concise summary of the Marquess's administration :—

“ You arrived in this country at a period peculiarly unfavourable to the acquisition of popularity. A new mi-

The meeting, however, appointed for the 20th in the Rotunda, was fast approaching. Men

nistry had been displaced, upon which the hopes of a large portion of the community had fondly rested. The change was felt as a defeat, and you were associated with their conquerors. Another portion hailed you as a deliverer from the ambitious aspirations of their Catholic antagonists. You had to guard yourself (a no less difficult task) against their indiscreet triumph. You achieved both. In a few weeks, by a great but simple spell, you captivated the general heart. The old Irish policy of division, for the first time, was abandoned. You wielded, not one fragment of the state against the other, for the benefit of the enemies of both; but you bound—you consolidated—you wisely directed the energies of all, to the desire and attainment of common good. You gave a triumph to neither, but justice to each—you saw Ireland in *all* her sons—you were not the representative of a faction, nor the governor of a faction—you ruled Ireland as a patriot should rule her. You were the best representative of the King—he has no higher title than *the Father of all his people*.

“ His gracious Majesty, on leaving our island, recommended peace, harmony, and good-will. What he has recommended, you have done—and if not quite done, it was not because your intentions were below your means, but because your means were not equal to your intentions.

“ During a period when all sects, all classes, were stirred from the depths in which they had slept, into a commotion fierce and perilous, beyond any known in our recent stormy history—when the entire nation split off into two adverse hosts—your justice, tempered with mercy—using the balance rather than the sword—walked between both

of the first distinction arrived to assist at this most important assembly. For two days pre-

armies—saved the people from their passions, and suspended, as far as in you lay, the rush and ruin of the coming conflict.

“ During your administration, new principles, or old principles which seemed new, were called into sudden action, and the irritation of former times was kindled with fresh irritations beyond any former example—still were the jails emptied, crime retrenched, the people restrained, commerce restored, industry encouraged. The nation saw that there was a beginning—the good began to hope, and the wise no longer despaired of the country.

“ Your Excellency has rendered a great and magnificent service to this distracted land. You have taught *yourself* the lesson, and shown how easily it might be practised—not by words only, but by example. In rendering a service to Ireland, you have rendered a service to the empire. In rendering a service to the subject, you have, if possible, rendered a still greater service to the King. If you have not given all, you have prepared for all. Your administration would gradually have emancipated, for it would gradually have liberalised Ireland.

“ With the benedictions of a grateful people your Excellency leaves our shores—may it not also be with their despondent regret! We live in days of doubt, and of darkness. We cannot but remember that periods like the present preluded to the revolutions of America and France—to our own calamitous warfare of 1798. May no sinister and partial policy defraud the nation of the few hopes of redemption which are still left her!—and may our children’s children have no reason to assimilate, in after times, the

vious, the committee entrusted with the preliminary arrangements, held meetings of the greatest interest. The indignation at the Marquess's recall was extreme: but a sense of what was due to the cause, and indeed to his own feelings and advice, restrained every expression of these opinions within the bounds of the strictest moderation. Even the resolution complimentary to the Duke of Wellington's administration, and which embodied with so much justice that portion of his letter which bore an immediate reference to the religious peace of Ireland, was very slightly modified, and all testimonies of regret at the Marquess's departure limited to an address, in harmony with the general feeling at that time pervading the country.*

At an early hour the great room of the Rotunda was crowded, by one of the most numerous assemblies of the nobility and gentry of Ire-

causes and consequences of your Excellency's recall with those of the good Earl Fitzwilliam's!"

* This was so much the case, that an address to the King, praying him to reverse the letter of recall, and restore the Marquess of Anglesey to the affections of the people of Ireland (drawn up by Lord Cloncurry), was negatived in the committee by a great majority. Every thing was avoided, which could in the least compromise that attitude of dignity and good sense which the Marquess had chosen for his government.

land, which had ever been convened in public meeting. The Duke of Leinster took the chair. The Rev. Edward Groves, a Protestant clergyman, and Henry Arabin, Esq., to whose united exertions the Protestant declaration had been judiciously entrusted, acted as secretaries. The resolutions, already circulated and approved of through the country, were brought forward, and supported with an earnestness and zeal very different indeed from what had usually characterised Protestant meetings. The heart was thrown, for the first time, boldly and unreservedly, into the language. The Protestant and Catholic mingled together in the same imploring cry for the peace, the prosperity, the salvation of Ireland. Both speeches and resolutions spoke in clear and emphatic phraseology of the imperious necessity of immediate and generous concession; entreated the government to interpose with wisdom and liberality, before it was too late, between the country and the now undoubted certainty of civil war; pointed in plain and stern language to the real sources of these dissensions; and adjured the Sovereign and the legislature, by the most solemn appeals, to look into their existence with the energy which became a great nation, and apply boldly wise and searching remedies to their redress.

An address to the King, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament, were unanimously adopted. The opposite party at an early hour had threatened an attempt upon the tranquillity of the meeting; and two or three of their notorious partisans were to be seen hovering in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rotunda. But, whether from a conviction of their feebleness, or an apprehension that any disturbance would be visited by immediate castigation, they abstained altogether from all offensive interruption of the proceedings. Immediately after the first resolution had been put, a Mr. M'Crie, indeed, from the county of Kerry, a person known originally as a dissenting field preacher, and afterwards as a Brunswick orator, attempted to create confusion, by a proposition to divide the meeting, on the question of an adjournment; but the stratagem was too palpably such to merit any serious attention, and after a momentary appearance of disorder in that part of the hall where he happened to be stationed, every thing resumed its former propriety and decorum. One of the most touching incidents of this very remarkable scene, was the appearance, in the midst of the young and ardent men, with whom the platform was crowded, of the venerable patriot Sir John Newport. In the outset of his political life, he had

assisted in that same room at the great Convention, which under the auspices of Lord Charlemont had petitioned both of the Irish Houses for reform in parliament. To the exclusion of the Catholics and their cause from any participation in those great projects of amelioration, he attributed the failure of one of the most important revolutions, which had ever occurred, in the history of any country. “The occurrences of those days,” said he, “should teach the present age that no species of freedom can be lasting, unless it be also general; that it cannot endure for any time, if it be but the freedom of a party, or the liberty of a sect, and that it must be overthrown if it be based on the ascendancy of one class of men over another.” A noble and wise lesson, which, had it been learnt in time, would have saved Ireland many a tear, and England the whole of that miserable struggle for unjust power, which is doubly odious, when exercised in the bosom of a free government.

This memorable meeting, which may well stand beside the great Convention of 1783, both for the names which it collected, the principles which it recorded, and the great results to which it so speedily led, did not separate without taking the necessary measures for the practical enforcement of its opinions. The noble-

men and gentlemen who constituted the committee for the Protestant declaration, the dinner to Lord Morpeth, for conducting the arrangements of the late meeting, together with the movers and seconders of the resolutions just passed, were formed into a body to carry into effect these resolutions, and were earnestly requested, individually and collectively, to continue their exertions for the success of the great cause in which they were engaged—"the religious peace of Ireland." *

* This was not the first meeting held in the same place, for the purpose of co-operating with the Catholics in their struggle for the restoration of their civil rights. A meeting of the Protestants of the city of Dublin took place in the Rotunda, on the 11th February, 1811. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor (Alderman M'Kenna) presided; on the platform was observed, the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, the Earl of Meath, Lord Cloncurry, the illustrious Grattan, Mr. Latouche, Mr. S. Tighe, M.P., Mr. Parnell, M.P., Ant. Blake, M.P., Mr. Power, M.P., Mr. Burrowes, Mr. Wallace, &c. &c. There were supposed to be nearly three thousand persons in the room. The meeting was purely Protestant. On the suggestion of Alderman Archer, the few Catholics who were in the hall, were requested to withdraw. Lord Frankfort, seconded by Mr. Ellis, and supported by half-a-dozen aldermen, attempted to carry an adjournment, but failed: after a great deal of confusion, the non-contents were induced to retire. A series of moderate resolutions,

The so appointed committee, pursuant to arrangement, met together at the Royal Hotel, College Green,* the day after, for the purpose of conducting the preliminaries of the public dinner, which was to close the proceedings of the Rotunda meeting. The dinner again brought together the majority of the noblemen and gentlemen who had assisted at the meeting of the day previous, and was the means of eliciting new pledges to the same great principles of civil and religious freedom, which had distinguished the deliberations of the yesterday. John David Latouche presided, and was supported by the Marquess of Clanricarde and the Marquess of Westmeath, vice-presidents.

Whilst the impulse which had been given was still strong, and the feelings of zeal and sympathy in the sufferings of their fellow-sub-

the first of which was moved by the Duke of Leinster, were unanimously adopted, and a petition to both Houses agreed upon, with a recommendation to have similar petitions signed and presented from the liberal Protestants, in every county in Ireland. All this was of use; but there is a very marked difference, indeed, between the spirit and measures of the two meetings. The meeting of 1811 produced nothing; the meeting of 1829 was followed by a junction between both parties, which was sincere, and would no doubt have endured.

* It was in this same room the articles of the legislative union were originally arranged.

jects fresh and ardent, it was thought possible that these impressions might be rendered far more efficiently and extensively useful by an immediate junction with the Catholic Association. The proposition originated from several influential gentlemen amongst the Protestants, and was received with gratitude and enthusiasm, and almost unanimity, by the Catholics. The rumour spread; and long before any decisive measures could have been taken for the furtherance of the project, it was already announced in the Catholic Association, by individuals unauthorised certainly, and unconnected with the Committee, but still known for the zeal and activity which they manifested in the conduct of Catholic affairs, that a new body was about to be formed under the denomination of the *Irish Association*, which should merge all party distinctions in the common feeling of country, and annihilate for ever, in practice, all those miserable political divisions, which had so long kept them separate and ignorant, of each other. The effect of this declaration upon the people of Ireland was great. It produced a general feeling of enthusiastic cordiality and attachment, and had already half prepared the way for the projected union. Nothing could be a better evidence of the kind predispositions of the Ca-

tholics, or the total absence of any of those motives, the love of power or ascendancy, or the cherished retaining of old religious rancours, which had been so injuriously attributed to them, during every period of the struggle. But the effect on England was still more powerful. The opponents of the measure already saw a general and extraordinary revolution gradually maturing. The quarrel, instead of being Catholic and Protestant, was likely to become Irish and English. Sectarianism had changed into nationality. They imagined that henceforth the contest would assume something of the character of the great struggle of 1782, a battle not for an equality of rights between all classes of the same state, but ultimately perhaps for national independence and separation from the sister country. But the period had not yet arrived for such a junction. The project was full of zeal and sincerity; but the public mind was not yet ripe.

The committee emanating from the Rotunda meeting was not, however, indifferent to the proposition. They entertained it with all the judgment and good feeling to which it had a claim. Ten Catholics and ten Protestants, afterwards increased by an addition of ten more on either side, were appointed as a sub-committee.

to inquire into the principle of such a coalition, and the means best calculated, in case it should meet the approbation of the meeting, of bringing it into immediate effect. The committee met and discussed at considerable length, for several days, the several bearings of this very important subject. The utility of the junction was unanimously admitted. The difficulties of practically effecting it, were embarrassing. Most of the Catholic members were anxious for this amalgamation, at any cost. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil thought it could be produced by the Protestants simply going down in a mass of thirty or forty, and giving in their names and subscriptions to the Catholic Association. Lord Killeen, Mr. Wyse, and others, regarded it as a matter which demanded the utmost care and consideration. They met the Protestant gentlemen half way, and gave them an opportunity of fully expressing their objections. After three successive meetings, it appeared on mature examination of existing circumstances, and particularly of the "actual organization" of the Catholic Association, that the plan was impracticable. The Catholic Association was constituted in a very peculiar manner, in no sort of analogy with any other body on record. It was not a club; for members were admitted on the simple pro-

position of a member, and the previous payment of 1*l.* subscription, and not by ballot: it was not a representative body; for "no member stood there as the representative or delegate of any town, borough, county, or individual whatsoever." It was an open society, calculated and intended to extend to almost every part, not only of Ireland and England, but of France and America, and the rest of the civilised world. It thus became, in the strongest sense of the word, a truly irresponsible body. The apartment in which it assembled could contain but a small portion even of the resident members. Thus no guarantee could possibly be given, that the opinions of one day would continue to be the opinions of another; or the votes of the assembly at which a gentleman assisted, might not be rescinded by a new body on the morrow. A man entering a society necessarily desires to understand thoroughly the nature of the principles and the conduct of those to whom he is about to pledge himself; but in a body so fluctuating, so composed of multitudinous and fleeting particles, he had no assurance that he might not pledge himself to men and measures concurring in appearance, but in reality and result, the most opposite to his own opinions and rule, of political action. This evil, great as

it unquestionably was, was still further enhanced by another very little inferior. The admission of non-members into the rooms at one shilling each, often gave a very erroneous tone to the public meetings. It was true, indeed, that in cases of dubious discussion, or where great interests were at stake, a strict separation of the members from the non-members would have been insisted on; but those cases were of rare occurrence, and in the interval, the influence of the externs on the public deliberations was frequently pernicious. All the violent measures of the Jacobin clubs at Paris originated, and were forced on the meeting, by the galleries. It was quite clear, then, that the Protestant who demanded some security against these objectionable portions of the system, demanded nothing but what he might reasonably suppose to be essential to his own independence, and requisite to secure him against the risk of being identified with proceedings, of which possibly he could not in every particular approve. Another concession upon which he insisted, I will not say with the same justice, was the restriction in future of the subjects of debate, within the precise and narrow limits of the Catholic question, excluding of course every thing which could touch upon matters of collateral

policy or legislation, upon which difference of opinion might be supposed to exist, such as the Church, the Subletting act, the Repeal of the Union, &c. These conditions were expressed forcibly by some of the Protestant gentlemen, by others incidentally and reluctantly; but it was quite obvious, that with one or two exceptions, whether tacit or expressed, such was the unanimous opinion of their entire party. The Catholics on their side did not feel themselves authorised, whatever might be their opinions individually, to enter into such guarantees or alterations for the body at large; and measuring things by their practical utility, rather than by their theoretical advantages, they could not but feel that the Catholic Association so altered, would lose a great portion of its influence on the mind of the people. The secret of that influence was its wide extension over the country at large, and the extreme facility with which it aggregated to itself every species of public exertion, in every class through every part of the Catholic community. No organization could more successfully flatter the self-love of individuals, or more closely bind them to a common principle of action: any restriction of such extension would have been fatal: the very suspicion, would have produced a portion at least

of the bad results which might be apprehended from the reality ;—it would have chilled the enthusiasm of the people ; relaxed their exertions ; diminished the returns of the Catholic Rent ; sown new divisions ; generated anew counter-associations, such as Ribbon meetings, &c. amongst the peasantry ; and thus neutralised perhaps in a few weeks, the good of the many laborious years which had preceded them. But there were other evils also, to which the most ample concessions to the wishes of the Protestants would ultimately have exposed both Protestant and Catholic. The Catholic Association was composed of very heterogeneous materials :—there was the old aristocracy party ; the mercantile party ; the party of the clergy, very diversified also by its own aristocracy and democracy ; and finally, the bar party, which was split into two classes totally distinct. The bar had now for many years been the active guide of Catholic politics, and in some instances, advantages were derivable from this interference of the greatest importance : in the latter struggles of the Catholic question, it required undoubtedly a minute acquaintance with all the technicalities of the law, to protect the body from any of those numerous errors to which their ignorance might otherwise have exposed them.

But the bar itself was extremely divided ; Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, with all their intemperance, had, from their more extensive knowledge of the different parties in the state, views infinitely more sober and discreet, than many of those gentlemen, who in the same profession were gradually rising behind them. Young, inexperienced, and zealous as they were, little doubt can exist, that had the alterations demanded taken place, a month would scarcely have elapsed without an internal convulsion, or a gradual secession, not less productive of the most injurious consequences. Many of these young men valued the Association, as well for the theatre which it afforded to the early display of talent, and the opportunities which it opened to public notoriety, as for any beneficial consequences, which it produced to the country at large. Their views on these heads were singularly vague, and evinced a very limited knowledge of the operation of public opinion, or the judicious management of a popular engine upon the public mind. To deprive them of an arena and an audience, of the tumultuary, good-natured, and easily inflammable character which accompanied the actual popular organization of the Catholic Association, would have been in their mind to strike at the root of every thing

really valuable in the body, and to convert it from a popular public meeting, into a close chamber,—an oligarchical convention. There would have been constant appeals, as was formerly the case in the Catholic body, from the Association to aggregate meetings; and in these meetings, purely democratic, as they always have been, and otherwise liable to objection, the aristocrats would have been denounced, and the Protestant associators held up, as the cause of the coldness and apathy, which had begun to prevail amongst the body. The Protestants, however liberal, could not patiently have endured this summary exercise of popular censure, and would unquestionably, as more than one Catholic had done before them, have retired disgusted from the public scene. Such a revulsion would have been most fatal. The triumph of the adverse party would have been complete, and all hopes of future combination for a common purpose definitively and for ever at an end.

These objections were not removed by the Catholic members of the committee most anxious for the junction, and even the Lords Rossmore and Cloncurry, Mr. D. Latouche, and other Protestant members of the Association, finally concurred in their propriety. A middle

course was, however, practicable. There was no reason why the two bodies, constituted differently, applying different means to the one object, might not continue their sittings in the same metropolis, and at the same period, with great benefit to the common cause.* After

* In this point of view the British Catholic Association, sitting in London, was of unquestionable utility. Difference of situation had produced difference of character, and rendered a difference of policy necessary. It was as unreasonable to ask from them our agitation and activity, as from us their gentleness and exceedingly placid temper. We had different manoeuvres to execute in the same field for the same object, to each of which we were respectively adapted. It would be preposterous to require of the cavalry the service of the infantry, or of the infantry the service of the cavalry. This was not always kept in sight. Hence a great deal of unnecessary and injurious suspicion and rebuke. As to the late quarrel on "Securities," the Irish did right to keep clear of every offer of the kind. They already had been duped and swindled enough. Governments are like individuals (though by no means so honest), and shamelessly take advantage of these good-natured propositions. They have always done so, and will always do so to the end of time. The fault is not in the minister, but in the nature of the offence. The generosity of a nation is laughed at: such magnanimity is considered, and often justly considered, by these Machiavels, to be little better than weakness, and imbecility of spirit. It behoves the people, therefore, to be

much discussion, Mr. Wyse suggested that a distinct body, to be called the *Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom*, should immediately be formed (the present committee constituting the nucleus), and should still continue their co-operation with the Catholics on all subjects connected with the interests of their question. Lord Cloncurry proposed in addition, that there should be a standing sub-committee of conference, to be appointed by ballot from

also on their guard: when the bargain is about their rights, they cannot be sufficiently avaricious,—sufficiently hard.—But though these principles be just, it must also be remembered there are two ways of inculcating them. To call upon a body for a solemn disclaimer of the opinions of any member, however influential, is a most false principle, and would lead, if admitted, to endless injustice and inconvenience. Why did not the Catholic Association publish a disavowal of “the Duke of York speeches” of Mr. Sheil? Because the Catholic Association thought, and Mr. Sheil thought, that a body should be bound by its own declarations only, that is, by its own resolutions, and not by the opinions or principles of any man or any set of men whatsoever. In this the Association judged rightly; but when the occasion arrived for applying it to others, they altogether forgot their own precedent. They did to others, what they never would have suffered to have been done with impunity to themselves. As to the manner in which the censure was communicated, public opinion has already pronounced on it; and public opinion has pronounced as it ought.

each body ; but this it was apprehended would too closely connect them with the proceedings of the Association, and not very essentially differ from an absolute coalition. Mr. Wyse's suggestion, in its original simple form, was finally and unanimously adopted.

There can be little doubt, that had the great and final measure of relief been any longer deferred, this society would have proved, if properly conducted, a most powerful auxiliary to the Catholic Association. It was an unlimited society, similar to the Association, open to all sects and denominations. As many individuals were members of both Associations, a sufficient means of communication, and a connexion quite close enough for every useful and practical purpose, could have been easily maintained. Whenever a still closer union might have been rendered necessary or desirable, either by the very critical circumstances of the country, or the occurrence of some new emergency, the two bodies could without difficulty be amalgamated in the course of half an hour. There would be thus established on the one hand, a medium of communication with the liberal Protestants, with the government (if necessary), and with the English people, far less obnoxious to their prejudices than the Catholic Association ; and on

the other, in the hour of danger, an imposing power would be always ready to be brought up in rear, either as a moderator or supporter, to the assistance of the Catholics.

The "Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom" immediately commenced their proceedings, and one of their first measures was to appoint a sub-committee to watch the progress of the question during the ensuing session, and to co-operate if necessary with the Catholics, in furthering the common cause whilst in course of discussion through either house of parliament. Mr. O'Connell left Dublin about the same time, and several of his friends crowded to London to be present at the great question which he was so soon to plead at the bar of the House of Commons, when an event occurred of all others the least expected, and which fortunately in a moment rendered all these measures for the future unnecessary.

On the 6th of February, a day ever memorable in the history of the empire, a day which has opened a new era of internal peace for Ireland, the first day of hope, of happiness, of security, which has been permitted to her for centuries, the King's speech from the throne conveyed the gratifying assurance, that the ques-

tion was at last to be brought before parliament by his Majesty's ministers, with a view to such final and equitable adjustment, as might be most satisfactory to all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

This measure of grace and conciliation was, however, to be preceded by one specifically intended for the suppression of the Catholic Association, but extending to every species of political assembly in Ireland.

The announcement of this important intelligence was received on all sides with the most unbounded exultation and confidence; and though qualified by the coercive law suppressing the Association, a spirit of gratitude and tranquillity, in an instant superseded that angry and menacing state of things, which during the two last years had distracted the country. The first impulse of all the liberal Protestants, friends to emancipation, and many of the Catholics themselves, was to render unnecessary the application of the law, by their own voluntary act. It was quite true that an act of grace had been rendered ungracious by this unnecessary expenditure of government power on a body, which would of itself have disappeared before the restoration of peace and union, and the concession of their just rights to the reso-

late and intelligent citizens, who composed it. Either a most erroneous opinion of the principle upon which the power of the Association and even its existence depended, must have prevailed in the cabinet; or with a feeling from which individuals are seldom exempt, but which it ought to have been the glory of the legislature and the government of a great country to have disdained, they wished to brand their antagonist with unnecessary defeat, and to give a false evidence to the country, that they had the power as well as the will, at last to suppress it. Every one of common sense must have at once perceived, that all this was but a puerile and petty idling with public opinion: no one was so blind or ignorant as to ascribe the dissolution of that body to the act of parliament; they gave the glory to whom the glory was due, to the justice and wisdom of the accompanying measure. And if by any untoward circumstances, it should have so happened, that the ignoble game of 1825 had been again played over, and the Relief bill had been thrown out in the Lords, or rejected finally, as it was preposterously expected by the Sovereign, it is as certain as there is a sun in heaven, that the suppression Association bill of 1829 would have been even more

ineffectual than that of 1825, and that in some shape or other the Catholic Association would have reappeared, but with a spirit of detestation tenfold augmented, and an inclination to reject in future every proffer at conciliation, until conciliation at last should have become impossible, and the contest been transferred from the senate to the field.

The Catholics, however, did not allow themselves to be swayed by these impressions. They could not but feel hurt by this want of reciprocity, and looked, not without some degree of contempt, at the mortified vanity, which thus attempted to find consolation for its former impotence, in a very miserable play upon the public. But the great cause was uppermost. It was the all in all. It subdued, it annihilated every other feeling. Beside it, every other subject was secondary and little. This was no moment for recrimination. The true lover of his country was imperatively called on to assist, by every means consistent with dignity and justice, in the noble work. Letters poured in on every side. The Marquess of Anglesey, still watching with an anxious solicitude over the destinies of a country, to which he was now more than ever attached, gave admirable advice,

in a strain the most kind and affectionate: the Knight of Kerry, and many other members of the lower house, evinced scarcely less desire to prevent any ebullition of popular feeling from interfering with the opening prospects of the country: several other gentlemen, Catholic as well as Protestant, joined their voices, and impressed upon the Association the propriety and expediency of an immediate dissolution. But Mr. O'Connell was opposed to the measure, and in two successive letters, one from Shrewsbury and the other from London, gave an emphatic opinion against the dissolution. Two very warm discussions took place on the subject in the Association. Mr. Sheil brought forward the proposition, and urged it with his usual eloquence, supported by Mr. Lawless: the opposition, conducted by Mr. Brady, supported by Mr. Forde, &c. made it for a time doubtful, whether Mr. O'Connell's opinion would not ultimately have prevailed. Several resolutions, by letter and *vivâ voce*, were suggested—some basing the dissolution on the true principle on which it should have rested, the inutility of retaining the exercise of means, when the end for which they were originally intended had been fully attained; others simply declaratory

of their confidence in government; others again, moving the dissolution without any reference to the causes, by which it had been produced. An amendment was attempted by Mr. Luke Plunkett, proposing that the Association should adjourn *sine die*; but besides that this did not materially differ from a positive dissolution, it implied a lurking apprehension on the part of the Catholics, that government was not yet sincere. But the time had fully come in which they might legitimately believe in Emancipation, and all feeling of doubt or want of confidence at such a moment, tended only to neutralise the advantages resulting from concession. This great national treaty of amnesty and reconciliation, to be useful and permanent, required to be met on both sides with a total abandonment of all selfish motive. The great mass of the body were of this opinion; the aristocracy were of this opinion; the prelacy and clergy were of this opinion (for Mr. Sheil was formally commissioned to communicate the assent of the bishops); and no real opposition existed to the dissolution, even on the part of the more turbulent portion of the Association. Mr. Sheil's motion was carried almost unanimously, and the Catholic Asso-

ciation of Ireland, after enduring, under various forms and with the intervention of occasional interruptions, from 1760, stood finally and perpetually dissolved.*

The announcement of this intelligence was received with the utmost satisfaction by the old

* Mr. Sheil, in closing his speech, comprises in a few words the entire course, which the Catholics subsequently pursued. "The object of this body was, and is Catholic emancipation; that object is, in my judgment, already obtained. Nothing except our own imprudence can now defeat it. The end being achieved, wherefore should we continue to exist? What are we to do? In a few days an act of parliament will put us down. How is the interval to be expended? In the making of harangues, forsooth—in the delivery of fine fragments of rhetoric, and in proclamations of our own dignity and importance? If the minister acts a false part in our regard, we can readily rally again; but if a fair and equitable adjustment of the question be made, he is an enemy of his country who would perpetuate its divisions.—The course which I recommend is this: Let us determine to dissolve—let us pass a series of resolutions declaratory of our motives for so doing; let us protest against any unnecessary abandonment of the rights of citizens; let us discontinue the collection of the Rent, but preserve the finance committee, in order to pay our debts, and wind up our pecuniary concerns; let its meetings be private, in order that there may be no pretence for alleging that we maintain a shadow of the Association; and let its measures be subject to the revision of an aggregate meeting."—*Speech of Mr. Sheil on the dissolution of the Catholic Association.*

and ardent friends of the Catholics in London, and was the very best refutation which the body could have offered, of the malignant conjectures of their enemies. It furnished a no less just censure on that spirit of narrow-minded diffidence which had suggested the Suppression bill, and told the country in emphatic language, that the Catholics of Ireland did not require to be forced into harmony and unity with their fellow-subjects. The conciliation was not a work of compulsion, but a spontaneous and voluntary act of love. If any thing could exhibit in a favourable contrast the pretensions of the Catholics to those of the government, it was undoubtedly this. It gloriously justified, before all men, the good cause. Every one admitted, they had too much calmness and too much forbearance, not to have been in the right.

Almost contemporaneously with the dissolution of the Association, its co-operating body, the Association or Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom, by a similar vote dissolved themselves, and in a manner the most flattering deputed two of their body to go down in person and communicate the same to the Association.

The royal assent was given a few days after to the Association Suppression bill, and on the

same evening Mr. Peel brought in the bill for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. The grounds upon which he placed it, were totally different from those, which had been urged on any former occasion. The equalization of all classes of the empire, the extension to all the rights and eligibilities, to which all had an equal title, was the noble and philosophic basis upon which the new Magna Charta was to repose. The exceptions specified by the bill, were such as arose out of the nature of our civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and were very distinct indeed from that penal and exclusive principle, which had hitherto regulated the legislation of the country. Securities were attached to these concessions, in perhaps too narrow and unconfiding a spirit; neither does it appear what species of security such conditions could well afford. The Elective Franchise Regulation bill, the suppression of religious orders, and the regulations of the appellations and titles of the Catholic clergy, either have no connexion with the security of the Protestant establishments of the empire, or are such as must prove, if relied on, a very feeble guarantee indeed. The Oath, which still retains too much of the character of a test, is a more powerful instrument, but its efficacy must again depend much more on the

interpretation, which may in practice be given to it, by the persons who impose and the persons who take it, than upon the oath itself. But it is not thence to be inferred that the Protestant church was more exposed. There were far better securities for its protection, than what ministers could devise, or acts of parliament assure. There was that power resident in the intrinsic majority, in the superior wealth, numbers, and civilization of the Protestant portion of the community, which of itself must necessarily render futile every attack, and the conviction of which in the mind of all classes, must always go far to produce an habitual spirit of temperance and moderation. Yet even this conviction was less efficacious, than the general satisfaction which it was natural to expect from the measure itself. In the national tranquillity, in the peace and smoothness of all the political and social relations, attaining at last that just level to which they had been so long ascending, there was a pledge of future repose, far more permanent and certain, than any that could be attained by the operations of mere force. These considerations no doubt presented themselves to ministers, and if they adopted measures which evinced a want of confidence in their truth, it is to be attributed not so much to any real mistrust, as to the ne-

cessity, in which they found themselves placed of conciliating fools with follies, and of tempering with the appearance of sacrifice the prejudices of well-meaning ignorance, and the interests and passions of a large and divided empire.

That they had great and numerous difficulties to contend with, there can now be little doubt—not difficulties originating from the dissatisfaction, or opposition of the English people, not difficulties arising from the wealth, influence, mind, or character, arrayed against them, but such difficulties as are not always in the reach of the first intellect and the purest principles to control. The ear of royalty was exposed at all hours to the insidious whisperings of evil counsel; rumours the most injurious to the steadiness and honour of the Sovereign, to the relation in which he then stood to his people, to the rank which he held amongst the princes of Europe, were industriously bruited abroad: it was reported, even long after the royal speech had been pronounced, that there were hours of wavering and intervals of dissatisfaction, sudden misgivings, unwise suspicions in the royal breast; as if the Monarch of these realms could thus withdraw, without a sacrifice of every principle, his plighted word to the country, and turn back

alarmed by the malignities or menaces of any body or individual, from the broad course of justice and policy, which he had prescribed to himself. In the Commons the question was carried by a very considerable majority: this was anticipated: no strong impression seems to have been made on public opinion by the event. It was still hoped by the exclusionists that the majority in the Lords would be so trifling, as to justify the assertion so frequently put forward, that the great mass of the nation, both aristocracy and people, were decidedly against the measure, and that no other house than a Canning's House of Commons would have dared to pass it. It was still hoped a dissolution of parliament might be forced by circumstances upon ministers, and the King's mind might be roused by the dissent of his people. The majority of one hundred and five in the Lords, on the second reading of the bill, put the matter beyond doubt. It passed through the Committee without an amendment, and on the 13th of April, amidst the benedictions of a grateful people, and without the slightest demonstration of popular tumult, on the part of its opponents, it received the ROYAL ASSENT.

Thus terminated, after a struggle of more than half a century, a noble cause, founded, like the

abolition of the slave trade, on the principles of the simplest justice, and supported in its progress, by all that was splendid in intellect, or elevated in character, in this great empire. To the last moment that it was at all practicable, opposition to these just claims had been continued. No appeal to justice or humanity, no assertion of solemn treaty, no vindication from infamous calumny, no continuance of unimpeachable conduct, had availed. Ireland was not yet known, and was despised. All information of her wants came through partial channels. It was not then by sleep, and by apathy, and by acquiescence, and by dutiful behaviour, that she obtained her legitimate station and her ancient birthright; but it was—and let nations listen to it and learn, for it is a great and instructive lesson to those who still sit in bondage,—it was by the unceasing importunity at the debtor's gate, by the outstretched and firm arm in demand of natural rights—by the untiring clamour for redress—by the determined resolve—never, never to lie down in patient slavery, whatever might ensue; it was by this that she acquired her freedom, and it was by this that she deserved to acquire it. This singleness and steadiness of purpose in a legitimate struggle, has been spell sufficient to work greater miracles.

To the gradual developement of such sacred convictions in the national heart, America owes her independence; and with all obstacles to contend against, in herself, and in her allies, Greece shall yet owe hers. Once kindled, neither years nor men can extinguish it. Her enemies may be powerful, and united, and persevering—her friends feeble, faithless, and indolent—a just cause and a firm will are match sufficient against them all. In the late long battle, many there were, who fixed their eyes more on the combatants, than on the noble end for which they combated, and measuring both by such an estimate, the chance of success appeared weak and distant. These were narrow views: as if in this man, or in that man were bound up, the destinies of a great country. Washington did not make America—but America made Washington. “If Philip be dead,” says the Athenian orator, “your errors will soon raise you up another Philip.” So was it with Ireland: events, and the public wrongs, would never have left her without tongues of fire, and arms of iron, to speak, and to act, for her. But this, and higher resources would have been useless, had not a sage and judicious policy presided over its management. In political struggles, what is not useful must be injurious; and no stray application of the moral

means vested in the country, could have been merely indifferent. It is in this point of view, an inquiry into the machinery of the Association will afford to all classes of a free country, the most important instruction. It is true, indeed, that the application, to Catholic purposes, is for the future rendered unnecessary. But, in a state like ours—founded at an early period of European civilization, and retaining still, in its present improvement, much of the ancient clumsiness and imperfection of all early institutions—it is only natural, that there should be a constant struggle going on towards amelioration. There will be in some part or other of the body efforts to throw off the old vices of the system, continually appearing on the surface of society; and it is a matter of some moment to the wellbeing of the entire political body, that they should be subjected to a wise control. The reader, who has followed the preceding narrative with attention, will have caught some clue to this mystery. He will have seen, that the Catholic Association began from very humble means, and grew up at last into a body, capable, even on the avowment of a cabinet minister himself, in despite of lord lieutenant, and parliament, and sovereign, of shaking from its basis the steadiest institutions of the empire. This progress, when com-

pared at long intervals, will appear marvellous. The two extremes of the chain will seem out of all proportion; but when each link is carefully examined, when the eye follows calmly on from one to the other, the miracle will re-enter into the ordinary course of nature, and the connexion between intermediate cause and effect—each effect in its turn becoming cause—will become instantly conspicuous. Individual spirit, excited by personal injuries and insults—these insults and injuries but exemplifications of the general system—were the first causes of the awakening of the country. All the obstacles which usually hang about commencements,—puny jealousies,—concealed hatreds,—base envies,—narrow views,—the little passions and wretched interests of little men, disgraced, or impeded, or opposed its progress. The leaders of that day were in advance of the country, and were obliged to submit to the tedious and ungrateful task, of *gradually* illuminating the people. But they had their consolations too; they had cheerful and intelligent co-labourers, as they proceeded, and the noble work advanced. The disasters of their country occasionally assisted, and did more for them, and the success of their cause, than all the persuasions of truth or justice. Their shackles were loosened: they took ad-

vantage of the relaxation; they soon found out that what they had obtained, could effectually be employed to obtain more. By degrees, the habit of subduing, taught them to subdue. The spirit spread, from a knot to a class, from a class to the country. Excitation shot round in every direction, through the system. Many reasoned, and every one felt. New roads, shorter and more effective means, were discovered to the common end. Ingenuity was sharpened by distress: the national mind was bent upon only one object—the invention and practice of every mode of political attack. Anarchy was in some degree organised in the country: war was forced into unnatural combination with peace. There is no instance in history of a country standing for a series of years in a state so closely bordering on revolution. The fever was made chronic. All parts of the system were affected by its influence. Nothing was wholesome, or natural, or steady, or profitable, in the state; institutions which, in the neighbouring country, were dispensers of fruitful blessing to all within their reach, transplanted here, threw out the rankness of the soil, and were shunned, and hated as curses. The English constitution was known only by its vices, and England by her oppressions. All these were great evils; but these evils became a good.

They were the stern steel, and the deadly weapon, which an indignant people used, and had a right to use, against their taskmasters. The duties of government became as much a pain and penalty to the governors as to the governed. This was well ; for despotism has no right to enjoy tranquillity, nor injustice to taste the sweets of doing good. For a considerable time, these obstacles were not noticed. They came separately, and at intervals. The Catholics had not yet thought of a general attack : a few skirmishes amongst the outposts were the only encounters ; the superior discipline, the more compact character of their adversaries' tactics, proved for them more than a match ; they were easily repulsed : their losses were magnified into a general defeat : defeated, they were scorned, despised, and treated as turbulent but irredeemable slaves. This was the spirit in reference to the Catholics of most of the administrations before the concessions of 1793, and continued to be the spirit of many administrations after. . What was then granted, was a mere God-send—a patched-up expedient to stop a rushing torrent ; it was not the Irish legislature, but the giant of the French revolution, who came, saw, and conquered for the Catholics. The wisdom or generosity of the Protestants had nothing to say to

the matter. It was the surrender of reluctant fear. The bill itself is a flagrant anomaly; it bears every where, the visible imprint of force and hurry. They knew not where to begin, nor where to end. At the time, they would have given any thing, and every thing. "The Moor was at the gate,"—they were indebted for what they retained to the stupid moderation and habitual servility of their antagonists—not to themselves. The Catholics had not even the courage to receive, much less to extort. The panic passed, and the rebellion of 1798 once more gave back to the Orange Protestants that ascendancy which they were on the point of losing. It was in paroxysms of this kind that Ireland had always lost, what in her better moments, through toil, and time, and danger, she had been enabled to gain. Here was a great lesson, and it was at last understood. Brute force was at length discarded; it was estimated in precisely the manner in which it should. In governments, where opinion has any sway, and knowledge can at all be circulated, it must be a very extraordinary contingency which will render it necessary. In despotisms, the governor cannot come at the opinion of the governed; in this, as in so many other particulars, free governments have singularly the advantage; the strictest espionage in

the world is not for an instant to be put in comparison with their free press ; there is nothing to detect, where every one is willing to confess ; nothing to unravel, where every thing is thrown clearly and even ostentatiously on the surface. Not so in despotisms ; there every thing is obscurity, mystery, suspicion, fear : the jealousies of both ruler and subject lead to mutual mistakes : the people can never be known to the prince, nor the prince to the people. . Revolutions are nearly matured in the public mind before the public is aware of them, and it is often the most insignificant incident which leads to the great and general convulsion, which decides all. . A despotic sovereign walks constantly on a species of solfatara ; it is often a mere shell which divides him from the fires below. . Hence despotic governments are subject to the rudest and most unexpected changes ; brute force is almost their only instrument of reform ; the battle of their rights is decided, not in the senate or the cabinet, but in the open field. But the institutions of England usually protect her from such evils : the minister yields uniformly to a truly national sentiment, for the moment it becomes truly national, it becomes impossible for a minister to resist it : the man who should make the attempt would soon cease to be a mi-

nister. The object then of all political reformers in such a state should be to attain this end—to make their opinions the opinions of the country; this done, rebellion is unnecessary, the revolution naturally and peacefully succeeds. It was a very considerable time before the Catholic leaders seemed fully to be impressed with these truths, or to speak more correctly, it was not until events suggested the system, and experience confirmed its utility, that it began to be enforced. The progress was at first slow; all the old prejudices of hereditary and national superiority still survived: the project of gradually converting the hostility of so large a portion of the community into support, of communicating to the ignorant knowledge, to the blind sight, seemed as doubtful as the chances of open warfare. The war of reason upon “chaos and old night,” was marked in its outset, by as many diversities and disappointments, as the contests of the field. The petitions of the oppressed were rejected—their complaints scoffed at—their wrongs denied—their misfortunes made subject of triumph and jeer. But discussion still went on, and produced its slow but inevitable results. Every defeat brought them nearer to the certain though distant victory. The Catholics at last threw off all their ancient apathy;

through alternations of fear and hope, they at last attained that state of fixed and correct resolve which was the immediate forerunner of final success. Education came forward as their ally. Their voice found by degrees echoes in every circle. One interest and then another was enlisted in their ranks. Speculative and visionary objections vanished before the realities, stern and absolute, of common life. Finance, agriculture, commerce, literature, were all made, more or less, part and parcel of the Catholic Question. It was a long time before its opponents would consent to see the change; but its importance or progress did not depend upon their seeing it. The light advances in despite of the blind. Even the very quarrels of the Catholics themselves, censured as they were, were often productive of advantage. They eliminated the doubtful; they rejected the cowardly; they tried the faithful; they confirmed the strong. New truths were struck forth by the collision; a greater clearness and decision were given to their movements; a more perfect accord was produced amongst all classes of their body. Their adversaries had not made the same progress, and remained scattered and undivided. The government still attempted to conduct affairs on old principles, as if every thing

around them was not new. But the peace of 1815 had produced on the intellect of the country the same effect as on its commerce: a larger communication with the neighbouring states had introduced greater circulation of mind, greater freedom of thought and speech. A new alliance was formed between the Catholics and public opinion in every part of Europe. The contest was no longer between two factions. It became a grand and magnificent struggle between two principles, carried on at the same time with varied success in every other part of the world. It was not to decide whether merely the Catholic should be free, but whether in a free state there should not be recognised a regenerating power, capable of correcting ancient abuse, and of throwing off when necessary, in the progress of civilization, the slough and vice of its early corruptions. It was to establish the right of a people to interfere in the management of their own happiness; it was to mark more distinctly the privileges and power of popular opinion; it was to give a new Magna Charta, consonant to the lights of the age, to every class of citizen, applicable to every purpose of national reform, and capable of working every species of national good. That this will be the operation of the great measure, no rational

man can now doubt; if it were less than this, it was scarcely worth the expense and time of the struggle. Every Catholic, it is true, was not equally imbued with this conviction, but it was not necessary he should. Immediate and personal injury is a better stimulant than any thing else; and while every Catholic had within himself so many stimulants of the kind, it would be an absurd act of supererogation to seek for additional motive for excitement from without. The activity of the penal code, the habits of oppression which it had introduced into all portions of the country, kept him constantly in a state of corresponding violence. Agitation existed every where—penetrated every where—became the mode and manner of existence of the whole community. It was now only necessary to give it a more precise and effective direction. This was done by Organization.

The first attempts were but a series of experiments. Many omissions and many blunders taught the Catholics at last the road to success. The Catholic Association, the Catholic Rent Committees, the Parochial Meetings, the Liberal Club system, were only progressive steps in the attainment of the great final object—the most expeditious, the safest, and surest machinery, to call into regular action the powers, physical

and moral, by which they were to work their cause. The press and emigration extended to other countries a parallel organization. The Catholic Association was a confederacy, which had a thousand arms. At the period of its dissolution, upwards of fourteen thousand members, qualified to vote at its sittings, had enrolled themselves in this great national convention. Amongst its members were included one thousand four hundred non-Catholics, four Catholic archbishops, twenty Catholic bishops, and two thousand six hundred Catholic clergymen. That such a state of things could continue exactly at the point to which it was brought, without exciting a corresponding confederacy amongst their adversaries, was totally impossible. The Brunswick club system arose; it was an obvious and natural consequence of the Catholic Association, and ought to have excited little astonishment in any party: the government itself must have long expected the reaction. The partisan politicians of both sides imagined indeed that the government had originated it. But the time had gone by for the Machiavellian policy, practised with such miserable success by their predecessors. The government, in order to avoid being crushed between both parties, in good time decided on legislating between both. What the government

meditated, had long been the anxious desire and aspiration of all that was moderate and rational in the country. It was quite a mistake to suppose, that any portion of the Protestant community, really influential, was opposed to Catholic concession upon any reasonable terms. Even the Brunswick leaders avowed, in their more confidential communications with persons who had an extensive knowledge of each party, that the object they had in view was mistaken ; that they merely united to prevent dictation from the Catholics ; but that they were not opposed to such concessions as they considered the Duke of Wellington was likely to submit to parliament with the approbation or consent of his Majesty. Many of the Catholics, on the other side, viewed with alarm and regret the present state of excitement in the country. They were fully alive to the imminent danger which inevitably attended an appeal to popular passions ; but it would have been imbecility on their part, and not that wise moderation which consists in a just estimate of the ends and the means, to surrender the hold which they had obtained upon the public mind, and the power which resulted from that hold—the combination and concentration of their body, until their legitimate expectations had been satisfied by the legislature. But between these

two parties, a third was gradually formed by the force of circumstances and the violence of the two extremes, which immediately led to a mediation, and a compromise. The Ultras on either side would never have been able to have come into contact. Unconditional Emancipation on the one side, and No Surrender on the other, if as strictly adhered to as they were boldly announced, would have led to nothing. There would have been no umpire to decide the quarrel—there would have been no appeal but to open force. Yet neither Catholics nor anti-Catholics acted injudiciously. It is only by taking opposite extremes that we can hope for terms. Had the Catholics shown less vehemence in spurning conditions, they would probably have had a bill full of shackles, and exceptions, and qualifications—a Veto bill, a half-emancipation bill—another bill of 1793. Had the anti-Catholics rejected with less vigour all suggestions of concession, they would probably have had no securities at all. There never was better chance of emancipation, than when these extremes were most opposed, and the opposition loudest. Even the Marquess of Anglesey considered his recall as the immediate harbinger of emancipation. A measure so exciting, could not have been ventured on, un-

less an anodyne, a calmant, was in reserve. Government had already made up its mind ; it remained only to carry its intentions into execution. To effect this, the very circumstances which appeared to offer the greatest obstacles, were the most favourable. A constitutional force, an intermediate force, had been generated in Ireland. It gave evidence of its existence by a distinct and decided act. The Protestant declaration was a treaty of alliance with the cabinet, for the great purpose of national pacification. The government found that in Ireland the quarrel was no longer a Catholic and Protestant quarrel, but a battle of enlightened and just principle against obstinate adhesion to old and interested prejudice. They reposed with confidence on this party, and for the first time judged with true impartiality between them and their opponents. Then came in rear the whole numerical strength, the great physical mass of the nation. With such odds it was no longer a matter of doubt which should prevail. The nation, truly such, contended against a declining faction. Truth and power fought on one side, weakness and error on the other.

In England, the public mind seemed more divided, and it was this division which gave a false semblance of activity, and illusive hopes of

success, to the anti-Catholic faction at the other side of the water. But the result has proved that they were as little acquainted with the workings of English parties, as English parties are with theirs. The prime movers in the business made use of the cause, as a weapon only to avenge old animosities, or recent pique. They could easily bear to be converted with decorum; but there was no forgiveness for a minister who had not called them into his councils, or allowed them little more than a week or two for their political illumination. Yet it is unquestionable that this very communication of the project would have defeated it. Every one would have come forward with his condition and security. Self-love, and false pretension, would have every-where attempted to usurp and intrude. Every one would have claimed a share in the merit of pushing forward the inevitable measure. The Duke wisely avoided all this, by descending upon them in the fulness of his matured plans. A little awkwardness was, no doubt, produced by so *coup-de-main* a manner of arranging the business, amongst the old hack-nied spaniels of government; and men who believed in the steadiness of statesmen, were somewhat astounded at the impromptu liberality of a few of the veterans in bigotry; but the nation

at large cared little for them or their opinions. The intellect and wealth of England—Ireland in mass—had declared for the question. Government observed—saw—judged wisely—and followed the country. The dependents of government, in their turn, followed the government:—this was their trade, and they merited neither greater censure nor greater praise than any other of the same trade who had preceded them. As to the great body of the people, most of them had no opinions at all: where there was any such thing as opinion, it was favourable. Towns decide political revolutions: they are the thermometers by which statesmen ought to judge of public feeling. It is natural and right it should be so. Superior civilization ought to be the regulator of social and civil institutions. There is no comparison between the civilization of the country and the town. The towns then were decidedly and naturally in favour of Catholic emancipation: the levies of the country were, after all, but levies of the Church; they were good evidences of the opinions of the Church; but to take them as true expressions of the opinions of the nation, would be preposterous. With the opinions of what should really be considered the people of England, they had little or nothing to do.

Agitation, producing a constant and habitual discontent—organization, reducing this to system—both terminating in such a state of things in Ireland, as to leave scarcely any interval between them and an open rupture ; every individual taking up his party ; every social institution in the state embarrassed or perverted ; the two religions, the two nations, into which the country had split, with uplifted arms ready to strike the blow,—every expedient exhausted, and exhausted in vain, to defer the advancing encounter ; these were the great impelling causes which acted at home ; but the action of external causes was scarcely less powerful and conspicuous. The whole civilised world seemed gradually closing round, to witness the coming conflict. Such witnesses could not long abstain, under so many exciting circumstances, from becoming allies, and from allies, participators in the contest. To repel the enormous evil, the means of the English government were altogether inadequate. The finances were sinking under a series of revolutions—violent and unexpected—arising from the anomalies in the currency, the free-trade, and the corn questions : public opinion was evincing more and more every day the sense of its own strength : recurrence to brute force was becoming more inevitable every hour. In such a

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struggle, so rude, and so sudden, it may well be doubted, whether any modern minister could possibly be successful. What had they to check it? The army: but the army, since 1815, had become an army of citizens; it could not be relied on as a mere passive instrument. Recruited principally from Ireland, it was more than half Irish, more than half Papist. In an Irish Catholic war, such a weapon would at once have snapt asunder.* The Duke of Wellington knew

Dublin, June 13, 1829.

* A most serious affray between the rifle brigade of the 60th regiment and the 36th regiment has taken place in Limerick. The quarrel originated in a dispute about O'Connell and the Clare election. The 36th declared for O'Connell; and after a furious contest in the streets of Limerick, in which much blood was spilt, and it is apprehended some lives lost, the 36th were declared the victors. The war cry of the 60th was, "Bloody Papists!" of the 36th, "O'Connell for ever!" You will see contradictory accounts of this affray in the Limerick papers, but they concur in stating that a man belonging to the 60th was the original assailant; and it has been mentioned, I know not with what truth, that notwithstanding the *esprit de corps* prevalent in the army, a number of the 60th, who are Catholics, refused to join their companions. This is one of the consequences of the policy which decided on another Clare election. A moiety of the soldiers, indeed, I have heard three-fourths, now in Ireland, are Catholics, and Irishmen. Even the greater part of the Highland regiments, it is well known, belong to this

this, and knew it well ; and knowing it, saw that he had no choice. He was stronger than all opposition which could be offered him ; he spoke with the voice of a master : he did rather than spoke ; but there was a still stronger, a more powerful master, a mightier mover, than any minister. It was not the Duke of Wellington who originated the measure, it was the stern voice and the iron hand of uncontrollable Necessity.

Yet to *see* this necessity in due time was wisdom : to know how to *obey* it with dignity and advantage, was public virtue. The people themselves, their energy, their unanimity, their perseverance, created it ; but the minister wielded it ; the minister saw and seized—saw in time and seized with judgment, the important lessons which it pointed out. Another would have

country. They have manifestly been inoculated with the feelings of those among whom they live, and from whom they were taken ; they experience the disorder of that enthusiasm with which the political atmosphere of this country, and particularly of the South, is at this moment charged. I repeat it—if such occurrences as those of Limerick and Carrick-on-Suir (where the very esteemed vicar, Mr. Grady, lost his life) had taken place before the Relief bill passed, consequences might have followed which a man of the stoutest nerve might shudder to contemplate.—*Times*, June 23d, 1829.

sealed his eyes to the signs of the times, and called the blindness reason, and the obstinacy firmness. Lord Wellington acted otherwise : he did not affect to be wiser than the wisest, nor stronger than the strongest before him. Nor was Ireland, in such a crisis, scarcely less indebted to him than to herself ; it was necessary to have such a man at the head of the government to answer her appeal. Exceptions perhaps may be taken to the mode in which the measure was brought forward ; none are justly applicable to the measure itself. It may be true that the minister, in his anxiety for success, had somewhat outstepped at times the strict limits of constitutional freedom ;—a high tone, and a determined arm, may have been too ostentatiously displayed in the course of these angry proceedings : but it is not for men, who undertook the defence of such acts as those, upon which the exclusive code was founded, to complain. The Duke had to act with promptitude, or submit to be defeated by a wily and vigilant faction. Not the country, but they, it was, who were taken by surprise. Time, in such cases, is half the battle ; next to secrecy, it is the great instrument of victory. He employed against the conspiracy (for it scarcely deserves a nobler or gentler name)

the same weapons which the conspiracy had employed so often against himself and against others. Another policy, less decisive, less instant, less vigorous, might unquestionably have deferred the wished-for consummation, but it could not have prevented it: it would have only changed its character; it would have baptised it in blood. This was the difference between the policy of Lord Eldon and of Lord Wellington. Both would ultimately perhaps have terminated in the same point; but the road by which they would have arrived at such conclusion, would have been different indeed. No one can disguise from himself, that the constitution of 1688 has been seriously altered; but few are so mad, except for the purposes of temporary argument, as to assert, that constitutions, more than any thing else human, are to continue unaltered and unalterable. The only point seems to be, how such alterations are to be brought about in the most gradual and kindest manner, with the most general satisfaction, at the least possible risk, and for the greatest share of public benefit. Lord Wellington is for "legislation," but Lord Eldon for the "wager by battle." Posterity will judge between them.

Such then has been the history of the past—

the experiment has been at last fairly and fully tried ; we are now called on to witness the results ; to judge of the hopes and prospects of the future. New relations have been created by this great revolution ; new duties have risen up with them. It is right we should be enabled to understand and appreciate both. Most of the prophecies put forward with confidence at various periods of this eventful discussion, are already in a rapid process of realization. They were founded in a common-sense view of human nature ; in a just conception of the motives of human action ; in a correct application to present things, of the experience of by-gone history. The cessation of the principle of commotion has been, in itself, peace. The opposite armies have been disembodied, the camp is broken up, the ranks have been allowed to mix with each other. With the exception of a few factious traffickers on public passions, both parties, mutually fatigued, are only anxious for repose. Allowed to approach each other for the first time, both are at length beginning to perceive qualities which had escaped them in the distance. Mutual acquaintance is beginning to produce mutual confidence and esteem. All classes have benefited. The Irish Protestant is allowed to leave his citadel, to wander beyond

his fortifications; the besieged join in the same rejoicings with the besiegers. The sovereign rests in the security of contented hearts;—the subject has other motives than the fictions of law for his loyalty; he is about to enjoy a happiness to which hitherto he had been a stranger, and will be attached to the state which shall confer it. His attachment to the state, in a well-ordered government, involves necessarily his attachment to the sovereign. The public attention will no longer be frittered away in side experiments; the art of governing will no longer be the art of a charlatan, the discovery and application of palliatives. National occupations begin at length to claim the national spirit and the national industry. Time and means are given for public exertion. Every where there are symptoms of the departure of ancient evil; ere long there will be indications of the arrival of expected good. This is much, but it is not to be pretended that it is all. It would be strange indeed, if an act of parliament had that magic in it, which in an instant could exorcise the evil spirit which had so long sat in undisputed mastery over the body of the state. The charm, no doubt, is strong; but its working must necessarily be slow: centuries were requisite to form these habits—months cannot take them away. The old—and

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let it also be remembered, the defeated opponents of the measure, will naturally seek for some consolation to their wounded pride in every slight ebullition of popular feeling, which may chance to survive the contest.* But they mistake coincidences for causes. These are ra-

* The late riots in some parts of the South of Ireland, so far from being arguments against the policy of concession, are the strongest confirmations of its wisdom and necessity. In Limerick and Carrick-on-Suir, they originated from those very elements of religious division, as we have already noticed, which it had been the first object of the late measure to extinguish and repress. In Tipperary there are symptoms of the reappearance of those old family factions, the Dwyers, the Nashes, &c., relics of the turbulence of former times, which were momentarily checked by the great absorbing interest of the Catholic question, but more especially by the active interference, the judicious counsel, the commanding influence of the late Catholic Association. The withdrawal sudden and entire, as it has been, of this great moral force, has of course allowed the old forces, to which it was opposed, to revert for a time to their ancient position. Such occasional agitation in the system must for some time longer continue to endure, until a new power of repression shall be generated in the country instead of the old; that is, until the equal and impartial and vigorous distribution of justice shall have inspired a proper reverence for the laws, and made appeals to the tribunals of the country more frequent than the recurrence to those physical means of defence or retaliation, by which all quarrels between man and man have hitherto been adjusted.

ther the last relics of ancient feuds, than the commencements of new ones. It would be just as reasonable to take the tumblings of the sea, after the storm had subsided, for the storm itself. The swell and roll must continue to be felt for some time longer in the public mind :—the tempest which produced them, it must be remembered, endured for centuries. New attractions, and new repellants, will by degrees scatter into new forms all those elements of disturbance. Time itself, and all the usual workings of the political system, will do more for this desirable result than any acts of parliament. The legislature ought to follow in the track of public necessities, rather than seek over-rashly to divine them. One of our most inveterate national maladies is, an extravagant passion for over-legislation. We are fond of codification, as mere experiment, and provided our blunders stand tolerably well during the interval of two sessions, we sit down satisfied that our work of "good counsel" is fully done. But in treating such a convalescent as Ireland, rescued with so much difficulty, recovering so slowly, all political empiricism should for ever be at an end. Ireland, for a short time, ought to be left to rest, and to herself. She is *in transitu* to a new state of society. It is idle to make laws for a position of

things, which, when the law is made, may have already passed away. It is not action, but thinking, which we require. Dispassionate and painful inquiry, and not dogmatism, and not self-sufficiency, and not precipitancy, is now the duty of the public man. Let facts—cleared from the ancient colouring of sectarianism—let facts and not theories, be collected:—let them be contrasted, and proved, and weighed, one against the other—let them be tried by the touchstone of general utility. *Then* act, if so you will—but not till then. On such foundations the superstructure will endure. All others are mere frost-work—attempts at improvement,—the old Penelope web of Irish civilization—doing laboriously to-day, what must be undone with still more labour to-morrow; and wasting years and money, and men and mind, in nothings—giving to posterity the same record of indolence or imbecility, which we received from our ancestors;—and keeping Ireland the by-word amongst nations, which she so long has been, for arrogant pretensions and impotent conclusions—for doing little, and talking overmuch.

It cannot be concealed, however,—and to the philosophic and calm observer it is surely a matter of deep regret—that the very hands which conferred the blessing, should have gone so far

to mar and delay its effects. There was an air indeed of "unwilling willingness" from the outset about the giving, which not a little detracted from the value of the gift. But this was to be attributed more to the circumstances, than to the men. Latterly—I speak of the exclusion of Mr. O'Connell from the Commons House of Parliament—they have claim perhaps to much less indulgence. The men and their passions have unfortunately appeared to have had more to do with the matter, than the irresistible force of circumstances. This is a calamity. It has left, what Mr. Peel so much wished to avoid, a Catholic question behind. The "*uno avulso non deficit alter*," the growing up of new complaint on the removal of the old, the constant allegation of the enemy, has been half justified. That all this troubling of the waters afresh will soon pass away, like the far more terrible convulsions of the elements which had preceded it, I have little doubt; but it appears a supererogatory predilection for popular excitation, to have afforded even the slightest opportunity for troubling them at all. The virtue of the panacea has begun already to be doubted, and this doubt is akin to a denial of its benefits;—suspicion soon becomes certainty in the mind of the multitude, and such a certainty once prevalent in the coun-

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try, the Relief bill might as well not have been passed. It ought to have been an object with ministers to have done what they undertook to do, *perfectly and finally*. Clare has again evoked the exorcised spirit of the Catholic Association; and Mr. O'Connell, who would have soon melted into a simple British citizen, has been forced back to his old profession of Catholic agitator.*

* It was originally, it seems, Mr. O'Connell's anxious desire to avoid a recurrence to those scenes and recollections of civil discord, which it was the chief object of the Relief bill for ever to suppress. His whole conduct in London, during the discussions in either house, was temperate and conciliating. His most judicious course at that time would have been, to have resigned the representation of the county of Clare (if in accord with the wish of his constituents), and to have re-entered the house at a later period, when all differences on the subject were set at rest. It is true indeed that such a course would not have redeemed the pledge he had given to the country; but it would have been a matter worth the consideration of a judicious politician, and a true lover of his country, whether all personal feeling should not have ceded at such a moment, to the paramount interests of every class in the community. The object which the electors of Clare had principally in view was, the final adjustment of the Catholic claims: this object was triumphantly attained; it was no longer necessary to cling with unwise pertinacity to the means. But Mr. O'Connell seems to have been led into considerable error, by the conduct of the ministers themselves. All along he appears to have believed that his case would have been supported by their advocacy, or at least

Of the actually accompanying measures I have already spoken. The Suppression Association

connivance, in both houses. For this impression he had some grounds. The ministers stood in a most doubtful position. They had been obliged to make a sacrifice (many said unwillingly) to prejudices still existing in a high quarter. When the discussion was over, it was hoped that all decided hostility, in the mind of an illustrious personage would have quietly passed away. The case was otherwise. Ministers were compelled to persevere : it was notorious that the Premier had expressed himself favourably to Mr. O'Connell's right ; but under the circumstances, it is not easy to say how far he was at liberty to act up to this conviction. The error (to give it much too soft a name) does not rest with him. Mr. O'Connell, disappointed and mortified at what he construed into an act of premeditated treachery, and humiliated at having been in appearance the dupe of promises and professions, threw himself once more upon the country. This was now unavoidable : the fault did not lie with Mr. O'Connell ; the government had rendered it necessary. But Mr. O'Connell might have acted the part, with infinitely more dignity and judgment. There was no need of reverting to the old topics of popular excitation : Brunswick and Papist should for ever have been expunged from his vocabulary. The man who took the hand of Cobbett, ought to have known how to forgive, when forgiveness would not have been a disgrace, but a virtue. Mr. O'Connell ought to aim at nobler game, than to be the applauded of a party. The country, through all its sects and classes, claims his talents. He ought not to have rendered them, as far as possible, suspected, or useless. —This after all is the chief point. —Has Mr. O'Connell attended to it ?

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bill has operated probably in the precise manner in which it was intended. It was a harmless pains and penalty enactment, swept to oblivion almost in the moment of its birth—an “*imbellis telum sine ictu*”—a Congreve rocket shot idly into the air. The same may be said, as I have already remarked, of the “securities” embodied in the bill itself. Some clamour and anxiety were shown at the time about these absurdities; but both minister and people have agreed to laugh at them now.* Not so with the Disfranchisement Forty-shilling Freehold bill. This “Regulation

* There are not more than three professed Jesuits in Ireland, and one in England. Was it worth the while to legislate against them? A Jesuit becomes professed, by taking certain vows, which vows are received by *one* person only, and with closed doors. How is the fact to be proved? Is a Jesuit to accuse a Jesuit? or is there to be an ecclesiastical inquisition established to inquire into the fact? Colonel Sibthorpe made loud complaints against the continued assumption of titles, &c. by the Catholic dignitaries. Mr. Peel answered with a smile. He knew well that the Catholic bishops themselves cautiously abstained from such assumption. If others give them these appellations, they resign themselves to the honour with what patience they can. Blucher, in concurrence with the restored Bourbons, ordered that the Pont Jena should change name. The court obeyed, but the hackney-coachmen, the porters, &c., and others whom it more concerned than the court, still call it by its old name of the Pont Jena.

bill," as it is called, will yet form a fertile source of irregularity and innovation in the constitutional law of the country. It is the first principle of a new reform code. Parliamentary regeneration will spring out of the spoliation; out of evil, will yet come good. It was originally meant, I believe, to be a peace-offering to the irritated and deserted genius of Protestant Ascendancy—a sacrifice of Catholicism to Protestantism—of the priests and their influence, to the parsons and their influence, and so on. It has turned out to be much more: counties have become boroughs, and the constituency a corporation. These consequences were not altogether unforeseen. The supporters of popular rights were warned in due time, but the bill was suffered to pass on. It has since become a matter of question, whether its supporters acted right or wrong—whether they were traitors to the country, or patriots. The doubt may be easily decided. Surrendered it certainly was, but as a great price for a greater good, by the Whigs—but by the Tories, it was demanded as a *quid pro quo*, a make-weight in the great account, in return for relinquished privileges:—by the same Tories too, be it remembered, who, when this very measure had formerly been coupled with emancipation, had rejected it, with an

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affected devotion to popular rights,—out of mere love and affection, as they averred, to the democratic portion of our constitution. But the question of 1825, and the question of 1829, were two different questions. The contest was no longer between relief and non-relief—but between peace and war. The delay of a session might have proved fatal: it might have amounted to the rejection of all conciliatory adjustment for ever. The lover of his country had to decide, whether he would give up a portion of its franchises,—or whether he would put to risk—all.

The bill in Ireland has so far worked very nearly in the manner that was expected. Few notices have been sent in; of those few, not more than one-third, and in some places not more than one-fifth have been accepted. Due information should have been procured of the probable number of forty-shilling freeholders who could register a ten-pound freehold, before the qualification should have been raised so high, and so sweeping a privation of actually-vested franchises have been attempted. It was not to be imagined that Ireland, under the endurance of so many political evils for so long a period of time, should suddenly emerge, on the passing of the bill, into an agricultural and commercial pros-

perity, sufficiently great to qualify any really efficient portion of her population for admission to those important privileges. The question then was, whether such a people should be permitted to vote *at all*—that is, whether a people, who had become impoverished by a series of calamities not within their control, should for the future be precluded all share in the government of their country. As to assimilation to England, and to English franchises, it was mere plea and pretext; and after all, as untrue as it was unjust. The assimilation should begin elsewhere, and not with the elective franchise. The English system is scarcely less vicious than the Irish—far more diversified and anomalous—and ought to be held up rather as an object for correction, than imitation. Neither was there any approximation in the bill itself, either in its principle, or in its details, to the practice or privilege, as it actually exists in England. There is no resemblance between the life-tenure freehold of the Irish, and the fee-simple tenure of the English elector. The abuses, where such existed, have been left untouched; the appearance of abuse has been alone corrected. The law, as it now stands, or rather as it now operates, is a law simply against the poor. Much has been said in favour of its necessity;

but it certainly behoved the supporters of the principle, on which such laws rest, to be less partial in its application. The same poverty, which morally incapacitates an individual from taking a part in the apportioning of the public burdens, ought in no less degree, in common justice, to exempt him from bearing the burdens themselves. The great principle, that taxation and legislation are correlative terms, has too frequently been lost sight of in Ireland. This however is no reason, why it should not be recalled, and practised for the time to come. At the same time, it is by no means meant, that it would be right to revert altogether to the old fictitious constituency : far from it. It had enormous vices—numerous defects. Ireland was constantly oscillating between two extremes. The former system was alternately the expression of the aristocratic influence, and the physical force of the country. Certain alterations were necessary, to steady the balance. Whether they have yet been found, is another question. In towns there will no doubt be gradually generated, by the operation of the late law, a sort of counterbalance to the oligarchical influence in the country. The towns have lately felt the sweets of independence ; the facility of change ; the few local predilections ; the slight and tran-

sient connexion which binds them to their landlords; the comparative ease with which in such places a ten-pound freehold can be obtained, must not only contribute to multiply freeholds in towns, to a far greater extent than in the counties, but must always render them far less liable to be affected by the power or influence of the aristocracy. Yet it will be a very considerable time, indeed, before these effects shall have become conspicuous. In the interval, the constituency is likely for some time to remain in the hands of the gentry and the clergy, with a slight sprinkling of the more comfortable farmers.* If this were any thing but a transitory state, it would be an evil so serious, as almost to amount to a radical change or perversion of the constitution. But there is scarcely a clause in the bill, which does not bear upon it a provisionary character. Sooner or later, it must lead

* The aristocracy however have in many counties been the chief sufferers. In the North particularly, where the forty-shilling freeholders more especially abounded, the landed proprietors have been suddenly shorn of all their influence. The Marquess of Conyngham, of two thousand freeholders and upwards, registers now not many more than fifty. In the South, Lord Glengall does not proportionally register quite so many. So it is with many more of the great aristocrats—a balance of good, for the evils in other instances inflicted by the bill.

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to a total and decisive revision of the elective code in both countries. Scarcely one intrinsic defect has yet been efficiently corrected; new anomalies and inconsistencies have been introduced; the machinery has become far more complicated; the simplest results have been sought by the most confused means; the vicious method pursued in our other legislation, instead of being corrected, has been adopted with additional defects. No marvel then if we soon shall have to return to patching and repatching, until at last it will be found better to throw the work into the fire, than to go on correcting old blots with new. The age has proclaimed loudly its thirst for improvement. We must follow the age, and its necessities, for we cannot make it follow us. A total change—less feudal, less incongruous, more in analogy with the real principles of a representative government—must sooner or later take place. France has given us lessons, in criminal and civil justice, already. We must not disdain borrowing a suggestion or two more from her constitutional laws. She has discovered the true principle, and practised it with success. To her, with all our pride, in this instance at least, we must go for instruction.*

* The French system reposes on the principle so generally

Ireland has now thrown open to her a noble perspective. She presents a wide field for every species of legislative improvement. Her agricultural and commercial polity—the education—the comfort of her population—provision for her poor—encouragement of her manufactures—regeneration and amelioration of her system of justice, must sedulously and immediately engage her attention. In all these departments, there

recognised in the English constitution, that taxation should be always accompanied with a proportionate share in the application of the taxation;—in other words, that all payers to the exigencies of the state should have a proportionate share in its legislation and government: thus the elective franchise is regulated by the rate of public contributions; in proportion as the contributions increase, the elective franchise increases, that is, becomes more extended—in other words, more popular: it thus furnishes a corrective to over-expenditure, and an instrument and means of retrenchment. One force balances or counteracts the other, like the opposed metal bars in the pendulum of a chronometer. The American system, depending principally on population, is less suited, even to the purposes of a republic; but in a monarchy, and still more in an aristocracy, no question can exist of the superior advantages of the French. In fact, whatever may be the theories of popular writers on the subject, all legislation, more or less, in practice resolves itself into *supplies*. If this be the business of representation, it stands as a necessary consequence, that the criterion of the elective franchise ought to be the amount and nature of taxation.

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must be great and radical changes; in many, every thing is yet to be done. Education must be rendered far more general,* more practical, more applicable to common purposes, in stricter relation with the actual wants and opinions of the labouring classes of the community. The propriety of introducing into Ireland the system of a compulsory provision for the poor has been discussed, but by fits only, and conjecturally. It is fortunate, that want of time prevented our legislators from proceeding farther. It is to be desired, that their crude theories should not assume any positive shape, before there be a state of things somewhat more permanent, both in a political and financial point of view. We must prepare for great changes arising out of the Sub-letting act, Disfranchisement bill, &c.

* For example, there is no reason why the country, in concurrence with the government, should not establish in a central position, Athlone for instance, a second university. The exigencies of Ireland are great; and the Dublin University, though increased within a few years by more than one-third above its former number of students, is altogether inadequate to supply them. Catholics and Protestants, for such objects, should and would unite. To such purposes the old Catholic rent might be advantageously and properly applied -much better, at least, than frittering it away in elections. From the *people* it came, and to the *people* only it ought to return.

&c. superadded to the embarrassments, which we share in common with the rest of the British empire, from the unsettled state of the currency, the free trade, and corn law questions. But a wholesale application of any system, much less the vicious system, still oppressing, with its multitudinous and increasing abuses, every portion of the English community, instead of being the removal of an old grievance, would undoubtedly be the infliction of a new one. If the country, from a certain *mal-aise*, and difficulty generated by defects in her other institutions, cannot do without such stays and supports, let them be, at all events, in accord with the peculiarities, in the habits, character, and actual condition of the people. Let us begin from the beginning; and, not like the academicians of Laputa, think of building our houses from the roof. Let the necessities and dispositions of the people first suggest; let these suggestions be tried in limited and occasional experiments, as in Scotland and the North of Ireland; and if found to work well in detail, let the legislature then generalise the more salutary portions of the system, and give them, as far as may be necessary, the sanction of statute law.*

* The system of Mendicant asylums ought to be taken as

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A very considerable poor tax is at this moment levied in Ireland, in the shape of county cesses for hospitals, dispensaries, &c.; and that too in the mode and manner every way the most objectionable, of the many objectionable modes, still tolerated in this free country. An irresponsible and fugitive body, at their own discretion, assess, but distantly benefited by the tax, mix up the raising and alteration of these cesses with others, as totally distinct from them, as any of the excise or other duties levied by act of parliament. A poor cess, originating from the people themselves, and continuing under the control of the people, will be regulated by a very different standard—by public necessity and public opinion, and will always meet in both, some

the principle, and the Tithe Composition act as the model, of the machinery. The adoption of the bill should be left at the option of each parish or townland, and should not be extended beyond the period of one or two years. The rate payers should have each a vote, and the management of their concerns should be entrusted to a standing committee, chosen by a general meeting of the voters at the beginning of the year. The nature and extent of the assessment would thus be a matter of local arrangement at the discretion of the meeting of the parish. This plan, with such modifications as circumstances required, might be embodied in a short bill, and not enforced, but left to the choice of the public.

sort of check to the acknowledged tendency which all managements of the kind inherit, to gradual corruption and decay. How far the agricultural and commercial interests of the country require the interposition of parliament to raise them from their actual depression, is a far wider and more difficult theme. They labour, in Ireland, under a different species of disease from what they do in England. In Ireland, properly speaking, there are no manufactures at all, except the manufacture of the soil! Agriculture has no home market, in comparison, to what she ought to have. Ireland is consequently dependent almost exclusively upon her relations with England; and liable to be seriously affected, in addition to her own miseries, by the miseries of her neighbour. Capital has hitherto not been allowed a free circulation; there has been accumulation in some parts of the empire, and want in others: the usual evils of these unnatural restrictions have been experienced: they have produced upon the wholesome action of the body politic effects quite analagous to what are sometimes observed in the human frame. There has been plethory and marasma; a gross but deceitful appearance of health, a dwindling and pining away, side by side; poverty in the bosom of plenty, luxury linked with starvation,

and in all these various shapes, decay, and often death. The Relief bill, in doing away these injurious restraints, has gone far to restore its natural health to the commercial body of the country. Capital is already beginning to find in Ireland its natural level; and though it has not proceeded in a torrent, as some had fondly anticipated, it is not less certain that it is even now in gradual but constant flow. Nor is this delay after all so injurious. Manufactures which come *slowly*, generally come to *stay*. No better pledge can be given of the permanence of an establishment, than the patient and judicious preliminary inquiries of its projectors. Yet with all this, the first projectors of such establishments will be always, more or less, like adventurous navigators, of speculative and daring dispositions; some will succeed, and succeed greatly, but for one success there will of course be many failures; and for a time at least, the country must make up its mind to be subjected to all the excitations and depressions, the various pernicious vicissitudes of a gamester. But this must pass, and its momentary existence should not discourage, much less repel. These are not symptoms peculiar to Ireland, but the usual demonstration of the same morbid or rather incipient state of improvement, in every country in the world.

Out of such mistakes true knowledge will at last spring : upon this bitter tree of disappointment will at last grow the sweet fruit of victory. To success, we should be well persuaded, with all our national vanity (which is often excessive), there neither now is, nor ever will be a royal road : we must labour up the hill, as every nation worthy of the name has constantly laboured before us ; and do things by degrees, if we wish what we intend to do, should be really and effectively done at all. Sudden bounties, high-sounding subscriptions, levies *en masse* of labourers for public works, and all such grandiloquent and magnificent commencements, may be full of dramatic show and parade, but they end generally where they begin ; they are little better than the army of Caligula setting out with thousands, to gather up a few cockles from the ocean. What the country wants from the government, is a simple removal of difficulties—peace, leisure, repose ; if she has any thing in her, she ought of herself to be able to do the rest ; if not, though government were to work miracles in her behalf, she would still remain where she is. But Ireland has given, even in her worst days, proof that she has the elements of regeneration within her bosom ; they require only to be evoked ; but it is not every one

who possesses the enchanter's wand, or who knows how to read aright the magic book. The love of industry and comfort is to be taught by practice, and by enjoyment; the more, prosperity and comfort be felt, the greater thirst and desire there will be, for more. Habits after all are nothing but the repetitions of the same act, and there is no reason why good ones should not be as easily practised and enforced as bad. When once these habits begin to be formed, an anxious desire for their preservation will naturally appear. The impartial administration of justice, the equal protection of property, the exact observance of the laws, perfect regard to the rights and franchises of the lowest citizen, are all natural results of this anxiety. When once this desire is fully expressed, rapid and radical ameliorations must take place in every part of the country. With such a desire, neither the Grand Jury system, nor the Vestry system, nor much of the actual Church system, can possibly coexist. Alterations of some kind or other must occur in all these things,—and *great* alterations in some. The Grand Jury taxation must be abolished altogether, or Grand Juries must become representative bodies, chosen by baronies and parishes, if they are to continue invested with the extensive

powers which they actually enjoy. They would thus form a series of small state legislatures, good substitutes for local parliaments. It is intolerable, that a body chosen by a high sheriff, chosen again by the crown, or the dispenser of the influence of the crown, should dispose as lavishly, and far more vexatiously, of public property, than the legislature itself.* The Vestry act is another direct infringement of the right of self-taxation, and in a state which affects to consider this right, as the basis of all its institutions, it is a system which ought not to be suffered for another session to endure. It ought to be the desire of honourable men, putting all its flagrant injustice out of the question, to seek for a support of their religious establishment elsewhere than in the pockets of the starving pea-

* The same may be said of Corporations. They are not only obsolete, but absurd. They were formerly intended as barriers against the feudal encroachments of the neighbouring barons, defences for artisans, encouragements to trade, &c. But when the barons and their feudalism are gone, why preserve the barriers? It is like taking an antidote against a poison, when the poison no longer infects the system. The antidote in such a case very often becomes a poison, worse than that against which it was to guard. But the government ere long will direct its attention to these abuses; or if the government neglect it, the people will do their duty, and take its place.

sant. A proud church, as the church of England boasts itself to be, ought to disdain acting the shameless and sturdy mendicant; a rich church, as the church of England unquestionably is, ought not to be suffered to act the plunderer of the poor man's earnings—the compulsory exactor of a tribute, for which she returns no equivalent or gain. But these are evils which must be corrected, not by the *Catholics*, but by the *country*. They are evils in which all are interested—evils which in the end produce quite as much injury to those who receive, as to those who give. The Church by this time ought to be pretty well impressed with the absolute necessity of reform; whether it shall be self-reform, that is, internal reform, or reform from without, depends principally, if not solely, upon herself. If she will not go down to the innovations which are advancing upon her, quietly and judiciously, the innovations will come up violently and abruptly, to her. Such was the case in the instance of the church of Rome; such will be the case in hers. In such a crisis, let her be well persuaded that all former feuds will be altogether forgotten; Catholics and Protestants will melt into laymen. The battle will be between old vested interests, and new interests, ten times stronger, which have grown up in their stead.

Neither antiquity, nor possession, nor any other venerable prejudice, can now be pleaded in bar of an amelioration. The forty-shilling freeholder pleaded, and the forty-shilling freeholder was not listened to. The late Disfranchisement bill, amongst its numerous bad consequences, has at least produced this one good, that it has cleared away much *cant*, on this as on other subjects, and left matters of national improvement to be argued on their own intrinsic merits, and not on the fictions and prejudices of the past. No side or partial interests, such as the late Catholic question, will for the future interfere with a just value for the common interests of the state. The people will speak out, and be believed when they speak. It will no longer be considered, when a public and notorious abuse is under observation, whether the abuse or the attack be Catholic or Protestant, but whether the abuse be *fact*, and whether the attack be *just*. This is a great and important result, for it at length opens the sure and straight path to national and gradual regeneration. Eligibility to office, individual advantage, are as nothing by the side of such a benefit. Were the Catholic only to become, what his Protestant countryman actually is or has been, much certainly would have been effected; but how little in comparison to what still remains

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behind! Yet let it not be invidiously said, that the Catholic is not satisfied. Far from it—the Catholic is fully satisfied; but there is no reason why the *Irishman* and the *British citizen* should not wish for more. That there will always be such desires—that there will always be parties, and always agitation, in such a state as ours, is quite natural. It is the very condition of our liberties—it is the principle from which we have our political birth and being. God forbid it should not be so!—God forbid we should ever be condemned to live, in a country so lost to all noble aspirings, so stagnant and so sluggish to all that is great and good, as not to show a constant yearning and effort towards improvement! As well might we wish to navigate a sea without waves, or to dwell under a sky without winds or clouds. Motion is the health of all bodies, moral as well as physical. Compel them into rest, and they die. But there is a great difference between a legitimate object for such exertion, and an illegitimate one. Catholic emancipation has done this—it has given a just and national direction to the national efforts. It has done more than any other measure, since the period of the great laws of the Commonwealth, to make the country truly citizen. It has turned our faces to the right point. Its discussions have

already given us activity, spirit, habits of thinking, of reasoning, of acting :—all we now want is union. That also, let it be hoped, we shall in due season acquire. Present men may then take up with confidence the noble task : they may labour for the prosperity of their country, and hope to leave something behind them for the benefit and gratitude of posterity. Who is there, in looking back on the perils and difficulties through which we have passed, who does not glory in having lived in such times ? Who, with such a lesson before him—be the obstacles great or small—be the adversary weak or mighty—be the battle long or short, shall hereafter dare to despair of the perfect salvation of his country ?



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A P P E N D I X.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Catholic Clergy's Remonstrance of Loyalty.

WE, your Majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholic Clergy of the kingdom of Ireland together assembled, do hereby declare and solemnly protest, before God and his holy angels, that we own and acknowledge your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord, and undoubted Sovereign, as well of this realm of Ireland as of all other your Majesty's dominions; consequently we confess ourselves bound in conscience to be obedient to your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as any subject ought to be to his prince, and as the laws of God and nature require at our hands. Therefore we promise that we will inviolably bear true allegiance to your Majesty, your lawful heirs and successors; and that no power on earth shall be able to withdraw us from our duty herein: and that we will, even to the loss of our blood, if occasion requires, assert

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your Majesty's rights against any that shall invade the same, or attempt to deprive yourself, or your lawful heirs and successors, of any part thereof. And to the end this our sincere protestation may more clearly appear, we further declare, that it is not our doctrine, that subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed from the obligation of performing their duty of true obedience and allegiance to their prince: much less may we allow of, or pass as tolerable, any doctrine that perniciously, or against the word of God, maintains, that any private subject may lawfully kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince. Wherefore, pursuant to the deep apprehension we have of the abomination and sad consequences of its practice, we do engage ourselves to discover to your Majesty, or some of your ministers, any attempt of that kind, rebellion or conspiracy, against your Majesty's person, crown, or royal authority, that comes to our knowledge, whereby such horrid evil may be prevented. Finally, as we hold the premises to be agreeable to good conscience, so we religiously swear the due observance thereof to our utmost; and we will preach and teach the same to our respective flocks. In witness whereof we do hereunto subscribe the day of June, 1666.

No. II.

Oath of Allegiance, to be administered to the Roman Catholics by the Ninth Article of the Capitulation of Limerick, and no other.

I, A B, do solemnly promise and swear, that I will

be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties
King William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

No. III.

*Oaths imposed by the English Statutes 3rd and 4th
of William and Mary, c. ii., in violation of the Ninth
Article of Limerick.*

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

I, A B, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at and after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted me for the purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever; or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever; or without thinking that I am,

or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

Oath of Abjuration.

I, A B, do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

So help me God.

No. IV.

Protest against the Act to confirm the Articles of Limerick.

RESOLVED on the question, that the engrossed Bill sent up by the Commons, entitled "An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick," do pass into a law.

Ordered on motion, that such lords as please may enter their protest to the last foregoing vote, with their reasons.

We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, whose names

are hereafter subscribed, do dissent from the aforesaid vote, and enter our protest against the same for the reasons following :—

1. Because we think the title of the Bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, “An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick ;” whereas no one of the said Articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed.

2. Because the said Articles were to be confirmed in favour of them to whom they were granted. But the confirmation of them by the Bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive.

3. Because the Bill omits these material words—“and all such as are under their protection in said counties,” which are by his Majesty’s letters patent declared to be part of the 2nd article, and several persons have been adjudged within the said 2nd article by virtue of the aforementioned words: so that the words omitted, being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate, as we are informed, some express reasons, as we conceive, ought to have been assigned in the Bill, in order to satisfy the world as to that omission.

4. Because several words are inserted in the Bill which are not in the Articles; and others omitted, which alter both the sense and meaning of some parts of the Articles, as we conceive.

5. Because we apprehend that many Protestants may and will suffer by this Bill, in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and

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lent money upon the credit of the said Articles; and, as we conceive, in several other respects.

Londonderry.	John Ossory.
Tyrone.	Thomas Limerick.
Duncannon.	Thomas Killaloe.
S. Elphin.	Kerry.
Will. Derry.	Howth.
Will. Clonfert.	Kingston.
W. Killala.	Strabane.

No. V.

Mr. Keogh's Account of the Delegation of 1793, &c. &c. &c.

In the year 1791, twelve Catholic citizens obtained an audience of the then secretary to the viceregal government, and presented to him a list of a part, and but a part of the penal laws, entreating the interest and protection of government, while they sought a removal of any one, although it should be the very smallest of our grievances. The secretary, the agent of this *trembling* court, did not deign to give this respectful deputation even a *refusal*; he dismissed them without an answer. Repelled in this quarter, we prepared a brief and most humble petition to the legislature. But four millions of subjects could not get one member of parliament even to present their petition to the house! Mr. (afterwards Lord) O'Neil, had indeed undertaken the task; but superior influence induced or compelled him to retract, and he peremptorily refused to discharge his engagement.

As to the aristocracy of the Catholics, they, it must be confessed, were not inactive: they exerted themselves, it is true, but their exertions were directly in opposition to our seeking redress. The peerage was unanimous, and supported by some of our bishops, by many of our wealthy merchants, and by nearly the whole of the landed interest, it is easy to conceive what must have been the aggregate weight of such a body. They triumphed in our discomfiture, and the insulting manner in which the deputation had been dismissed from the castle furnished them with a copious subject of ridicule. Thus, then, rejected by government, refused admittance to parliament, scoffed at and opposed by our own nobility and gentry, and all over whom either possessed any influence, our petition was abandoned by the Catholics of Dublin themselves, from a conviction that any farther application for redress must be hopeless, while the accumulated influence of government, parliament, and even of their own body, was placed in the opposite scale against it. On this, Mr. Chairman, *Catholicus ipse*, has the unparalleled ignorance or the unblushing effrontery to say, "that a trembling court intended to grant our emancipation." And as the assertion is made in the form of a charge against me, I am compelled, for the purpose of repelling it, to state the share I had in raising the Catholics from the despondency, or rather the despair, into which they had fallen;—and I shall do this, with two of the committee of that inauspicious period in my view, who can correct if there be any thing erroneous, or contradict if there be any thing false, in my statement.

The select committee was, at my request, summoned, and met at Allen's Court. It was their determination to give up the cause as desperate, lest a perseverance in what they considered as an idle pursuit, might not only prove ineffectual, but draw down a train of persecution on the body. I was of a different opinion, and pressed, that one of the committee should be deputed to London to advocate their cause with the immediate ministers of the crown, and that the expenses of his mission should be defrayed out of the general fund, which was then sufficient for the purpose. The proposal was of a novel, and thought to be of an idle nature, an emanation of an ardent, an enthusiastic, perhaps a disordered mind. They were persuaded that the minister would not receive their deputy, and at all events would grant no relaxation of our grievances, upon the not-unnatural presumption, that the Irish government must have been apprised of his sentiments when they closed the doors both of the cabinet and the parliament against us. Finally, every man refused to go upon so hopeless an errand, and the meeting was actually breaking up, and about to disperse for ever, when I, and I alone, offered to go to London, and at my own expense, to solicit an audience from ministers. All I required was the authority of their permission, which I obtained, and I accordingly set out for the British capital, where I remained for three months, and whence I returned to this kingdom, in January, 1792—accompanied, at my own desire, by the son of that illustrious Irishman, Edm. Burke.

I arrived in London without any introduction from

this country, without any support, any assistance, any instructions. I call upon those who hear me, and who, as I before said, are competent to contradict me, if I falsify or exaggerate, to say whether I have been guilty of either. I had gone, in the opinion of my brethren of the committee, upon a forlorn hope, and they probably scarce expected to hear any thing more of me or my mission. I was introduced to the truly great Edmund Burke, the sincere friend of Ireland, and, for that very reason, of the Catholic body; through him to the present Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, and minister of the Irish department. I will not, because it is not now necessary, enter into a detail of the reasons I urged in my interview with that statesman; suffice it to say, that I had the very good fortune and happiness to convince that minister that the interest of his Majesty required that the condition of his Catholic subjects in Ireland should be ameliorated.

In consequence of this, at the opening of the ensuing session, in January, 1792, a ministerial member, Sir H. Langrishe, introduced a bill into the House of Commons of Ireland, which afterwards received the royal assent, and which opened to us the profession of the law—privilege of education unrestrained by the necessity of license—and of legal intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics; and now for these exertions, made at my own expense, and attended with a degree of success beyond the most ardent hopes, or even wishes of the Catholics at that period, are accusations brought against me by this infamous calumniator, of having betrayed the cause, which my then individual efforts supported. But let me proceed.

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So far was complete emancipation from being demanded, or even thought of, at that time, much more of course from being in the contemplation of the government, that the Irish parliament, on the 20th day of the following month, February, 1792, rejected a petition from the Catholic body, for "only *some share* in the elective franchise," with a majority of 203 against 23.

The hostile spirit of the Irish government met in the aristocracy of the Catholics, very active, very zealous, but certainly not very able partisans. The peers and gentry, and all whom they could influence, signed a declaration at the instigation of government, in which meanness and folly were combined, opposing the intended relief of their *country*, their *children*, and *themselves*; and the Irish government forwarded this declaration to Lord Melville, then, as I before said, Mr. Secretary Dundas, for the declared purpose of inducing him to withdraw the support of government from the proposed bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe; but that minister refused to gratify them in this instance.

Animated by the relaxation they had obtained, the Catholics of Dublin summoned a convention from every part of the kingdom to assemble in the capital. This measure created a universal outcry from the Irish government and all its agents, whether at county meetings, grand juries, or corporations. We were charged with an attempt to overawe the parliament, or to erect the standard of rebellion. The Catholic nobility, ~~went~~ again pressed into the service, for which they were apparently more calculated by their disposition than their abilities. They pledged themselves, not only not to join in but likewise to prevent the assembling of the

convention. Terrified by the threats of government upon the one side, weighed down by the millstone of aristocratic influence upon the other, the counties remained unmoved, apparently unaffected; at least they did not make any effort towards appointing representatives to the intended convention. This obstacle was to be overcome, or the hopes of the Catholics were blasted for ever. I again came forward: I went through the four provinces, accompanied by my lamented friend, T. W. Tone; I attended the meeting of the Catholic bishops in Ulster, held in that province. With those prelates I found it necessary to have an interview, likewise with the bishops of Connaught, who had been tampered with and deceived by the misrepresentations of a Catholic lawyer. In my journey thither, I was accompanied by my dear and much-lamented friend, Thomas Broughall, with whom I traversed the whole south of Ireland. When a good example was once set, it was followed with enthusiasm, and the convention became the genuine, full, and complete representation of the Catholics of Ireland. Yet even this convention did not entertain an idea, for some time, of applying for more than the elective franchise and admission to grand juries, until, towards its close, it determined to petition the sovereign himself for a full admission to all the rights and privileges of the constitution. The convention appointed five of its members to carry the petition to the foot of the throne. In January, 1793, the deputation was introduced to the King, and presented the petition. I was of the number; so were, Lord French, Christopher Bellew, and James Edward Devereux, Esqrs., who are

still living; and to these three surviving delegates I refer for the honourable testimony which they bore with respect to my services at our interview with Lord Melville. But I hasten to what gives me infinitely greater pleasure, the *result*. The result was, that the Catholics were restored to the elective franchise—to magistracies—to grand juries—and one sweeping clause removed numberless penal statutes. These privileges, so beneficial to the tenantry of Ireland, from the greatest landholder to the peasant, my accuser calls *petty privileges*; and the share I have had in procuring them, he pronounces to be another of the injuries I have done to the Catholics of Ireland.

This anonymous writer calls on me to account for the address to the Duke of Bedford: he says, that it is grovelling and slavish, without one expression conveying a hope of Catholic emancipation. I have in my hand that address, from which I will read two paragraphs, to prove his want of truth in this, as in his other charges, and that the address did convey a hope of emancipation. The following are the paragraphs I allude to:—

“ That it will be the achievement of your Grace’s administration to have guided a salutary and comprehensive scheme of policy *to that glorious development*, of which the advantages have been in part displayed; and the important consequences must be to invigorate the admirable British constitution, by introducing a loyal people to defend it, as their own chief good. . . .”

“ May your Grace permit us to conclude with the expression of those sentiments, in which all Irish Catholics can have but one voice. Bound as we are to the

fortunes of the empire, by a remembrance of past and *the hope of future benefits*—by our preference and by our oaths—should the wise generosity of our law-givers vouchsafe to crown *that hope*, which their justice inspires, it would be no longer our duty alone, but our pride, to appear the foremost against approaching danger; and, if necessary, to remunerate our benefactors by the sacrifice of our lives."

But a strong and specific charge remains to be answered—that either five or six thousand a year was offered by government, as a bribe for keeping back for one year the Catholic petition. The charge is against me:—it is evident, that he must insinuate, that not only the offer was made to me, but accepted by me; for if I rejected the offer, where would be the crime on my side? I once more call on this defamer to come forward, and give even a shadow of proof in support of this charge. The present and the late government must know of every sum paid for secret services; and I defy *Catholicus ipse*—I defy the late administration—I defy the present administration, or any man living, to substantiate this charge; and now, in the presence of my country and my God, do solemnly declare, that I never received from any minister or government to the amount of sixpence for myself, my sons, or for any part of my family; and the proceedings here this day shall, through the medium of the public prints, come before every one of the parties. As to the allusion of my being visited by Messrs. Ponsonby and Grattan, and the hint, that no acquaintance, friendship, or family connexion, exists between them and me—I scorn to make a boast of ac-

quaintance with elevated characters.—Whatever advances to any thing of that kind may have taken place, have uniformly proceeded from themselves; but if the writer, *whoever* or *whatever* he is, means it as an aspersion, that I am the founder of my own fortune—that I have no hereditary estate in a country, where robbery, under the form of confiscation or the penal code, has deprived all the ancient Irish of their property—the unmeaning allusion and insipid hint I shall treat with silent contempt, and hasten to the refutation of one lie more, that “ I kept back the recital of our sufferings during the late administration.”

The Duke of Bedford arrived here about April, 1806.—On the very commencement of the next session, a deputation, of which I was one, had two interviews with Mr. Secretary Elliot and Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, to press the question of emancipation. As soon, however, as I had reason to think that our application was overruled in England by Lord Grenville, I then sounded the alarm at a meeting held on the 24th of January, 1807; and, as what I then said was printed by Fitzpatrick, by order of the committee, I refer to it, without troubling the present meeting with a recapitulation. A degree of consequence was, indeed, attributed by others to that speech, which I never thought it merited; which is, that it was brought to the King, and contributed to the dismissal of Lord Grenville and his colleagues in 1807. But this much I know, that, from that day to this, Mr. Ponsonby never honoured me with a visit—which I regret infinitely, more from my personal respect for the man, than on ac-

count of his being a leader in opposition or administration.

Permit me now, Mr. Chairman, to return my most grateful thanks to you and this assembly, for the patience with which I have been heard, the honour which has been conferred upon me, and the indignation which has been evinced against an infamous assassin, who has attempted to surprise and calumniate a man, who had devoted near thirty years of his life for the purpose of breaking the chains of his countrymen.

No. VI.

Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, held in Dublin the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles:—

It was admitted, that a provision through government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.

That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.

That, to give this principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or diminishing the religious influence, which prelates

of that church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary :—

1st.—In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages :—in the case of equality of suffrages, the metropolitan or senior prelate to have the casting vote.

2d.—In the election of a metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving metropolitans to the election, in which each will then have a vote :—in the equality of suffrages, the presiding metropolitan to have a casting vote.

3d.—In these elections, the majority of suffrages must be, *ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrages of more than half the electors.

4th. The candidates so elected, to be presented by the president of the election to government, which, within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see, or return the said name to the president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on.

5th. If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after presentation ; who in that case will convene the electors to the election of another candidate.

Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic

church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the holy see; which sanction the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.

The prelates are satisfied, that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to government.

Richard O'Reilly.	J. T. Troy.
Edward Dillon.	Thomas Bray.
P. J. Plunkett.	F. Moylan.
Daniel Delany.	Edmund French.
James Caulfield.	John Cruise.

Subsequent Resolution of the Roman Catholic Electors.

The prelates assembled to deliberate on a proposal from government of a provision for the clergy, have agreed, that M. R. Doctor O'Reilly, M. R. Doctor Troy, and R. R. Doctor Plunkett, and such other of the prelates who may be in town, be commissioned to *transact all business with government* relative to said proposal, under the substance of the regulations agreed on and subscribed by them.

Thomas Bray.	James Caulfield.
Edward Dillon.	Edmund French.
F. Moylan.	John Cruise.
Daniel Delany.	

Dublin, 28th January, 1789.

No. VII.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, assembled in Dublin, on the 25th Feb. 1810, the following resolutions had been unanimously adopted:—

1. Resolved, that it is the undoubted and exclusive right of Roman Catholic bishops to discuss all matters appertaining to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic church.

2. Resolved, that we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the resolutions unanimously entered into at our last general meeting, on the 14th September, 1808.

3. Resolved, that we are convinced, that the oath of allegiance framed and proposed by the legislature itself, and taken by us, is not only adequate security for our loyalty, but that we know of no stronger pledge that we can possibly give.

4. Resolved, that having disclaimed upon oath all right in the Pope or any other foreign potentate to interfere in the temporal concerns of the kingdom, an adherence to the practice observed in the appointment of Irish Roman Catholic prelates cannot tend to produce an undue or insidious exercise of any foreign influence whatsoever.

5. Resolved, that we neither seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for our spiritual ministry to our respective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us.

6. Resolved, that an address, explanatory of these

our sentiments, be prepared and directed to the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, and conveying such further instruction as existing circumstances may seem to require.

NO. VIII.

Resolutions of the Irish Catholic Laity against the Veto.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at D'Arcy's, in Earl Street, on the 2d of March, 1810,

LORD FRENCH in the Chair,

The Most Rev. Doctor Murray read to the Committee a written communication from the Catholic prelates of Ireland. It was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Catholic prelates of Ireland, for the communication now made to us through the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Rev. Doctor Hamill.

That the thanks of the meeting are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Rev. Doctor Hamill, for making the communication, That, as Irishmen, and as Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or control whatsoever over the appointment of our prelates on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown. That the thanks of the Committee are hereby given to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. for the faithful discharge of the duty of secretary.

FRENCH, Chairman.

No. IX.

ORIGINAL.

*Copy of a Letter from Monsgr. Quarantotti to the
Right Rev. Dr. Poynter, V. A.*

ILLME AC RME DNE,

Non sine maxima voluptate accepimus, facile esse futurum, ut lex, quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro Catholicorum istius florentissimi regni emancipatione a poenalibus legibus, quæque ex modico suffragiorum defectu rejecta fuit, in novis hujus anni comitiis iterum proponatur. Utinam hæc tam optata lex aliquando feratur, et Catholici, qui *præclara semper præbuerunt obedientiæ, ac fidelitatis suæ argumenta, a gravissimo; quo jamdiu premuntur, jugo tandem emergant; ut absque ullo honorum ac facultatum detrimento ad ea possint alacrius incumbere, quæ et religio et patriæ bonum ab eis expostulant: quod quidem sperare juvat a beneficentissimo Rege, atque ab inclytâ natione, quæ æquitate, prudentia, cæterisque virtutibus, tum antè, tum maxime postremis hisce temporibus tantam sibi apud omnes populos gloriam comparavit. Et quoniam delatum est aliquas inter Episcopos obortas esse quæstiones, atque discrimina circa conditiones, quæ Catholicis appositæ sunt, ut cæteris aequiparentur; nos, qui summo absente Pastore sacris Missionibus præferti sumus, et Pontificiis omnibus facultatibus ad id communiti, muneris nostri partes esse putavimus omnem ambiguitatem, atque objectionem remove, quæ optatæ conciliationi possit obsistere, et quo non pervenit Episco-*

porum facultas, *S. Sedis auctoritate, et consensione* supplere. HABITO IGITUR DOCTISSIMORUM PRÆSULUM, AC THEOLOGORUM CONSILIO, *perspectis litteris, tum ab ampl^l. tua, tum ab archiepiscopo Dubliniensi huc missis, ac re in peculiari congregatione* MATURE PRR-PRNSA, *decretum est, ut Catholici legem, quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro illorum emancipatione juxta formam, quæ ab ampl^l. tua relata est, ÆQUO, GRATOQUE ANIMO EXCIPIANT, ET AMPLECTANTUR.* Unum est, quod aliquâ declaratione eget, scilicet secunda jurisjurandi pars, quâ Clerus obstringitur nullam habere se posse cum Summo Pontifice, ejusque Ministris, communicationem, quæ directè, vel indirectè valeat Protestantium regimen, sive Ecclesiam subvertere, aut quomodolibet perturbare. Satis exploratum est, id jure divino præcipuum esse Ministrorum Ecclesiæ munus, ut Catholicam fidem, quæ una potest ad æternam felicitatem perducere, undique propagare curent, erroresque depellere. Hoc Evangelii præcepta docent, hoc Apostolorum, eorumque Successorum exempla. Jam si Catholicus Protestantem aliquem ad Orthodoxam Religionem revocaverit, perjurii reus poterit judicari, quia nempe illo avocando Protestantem Ecclesiam aliquo modo turbasse videretur. Si res ita intelligatur, juramentum hoc præstare non licet, utpote quod Catholico dogmati reluctatur. Sin ea sit Legislatorum mens, ut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ ministris non interdicta sint *prædicatio, suasio, consilium*, sed tantum ne liceat ipsis Protestantem Ecclesiam, seu regimen, *vi, et armis*, aut *malis* quibusque artibus perturbare, hoc rectum est, nostrisque principiis apprimè cohæret. Tuum itaque

erit excelsum istud regimen omni animi demissione, ac studio deprecari; ut ad sedandas, tutandasque Catholici Cleri conscientias, modificationem, aut declarationem aliquam ejusmodi juramenti formulæ dare velit, quæ, omni ambiguitate sublatâ, pacificæ prædicationi, ac persuasioni locum relinquat. Quod si vel lata jam fuerit rogata lex iisdem verbis, vel nihil in his immutari voluerit, Clerus acquiescat; ac satis erit, ut palam ipse denunciaret, eam esse suam jurandi mentem, ut Orthodoxa in ejusmodi juramento doctrina salva remaneat, ac non aliter; atque ut protestatio ista omnibus innotescat; et sit etiam posteris exemplum in acta relata servabitur. Optandum quoque foret, ut ab aliquibus etiam publici concilii membris, si fieri posset, declaratio fieret, hoc planè sensu, ac non alio, Britannicum regimen a Catholico Clero juramentum exigere. Cætera vero, quæ in propositâ lege contineri scripsisti, ea quidem poterant ex Apostolicæ sedis indulgentiâ *tolerari*.

Quod rex certior fieri velit de illorum fidelitate, qui ad Episcopatum, vel Decanatum promoventur, ac tutus esse, num iis dotibus instructi sint, quæ bonum civem decant: quod ipse præterea ad hæc investiganda Comitatum instituat, qui in eorum mores inquirent, ac referant regi, prout Ampl. Tua nobis significavit: quod demum ex ipso de causa rex ab his dignitatibus exclusos in posterum velit, tum alienigenas, tum eos, qui a quinquennio domicilium in regno non habuerunt; hæc omnia cum id tantum respiciant, *quod civile est, omnem mereri tolerantiam possunt*. Præstat quidem, ut nostri Antistites grati acceptique sint regi; ut plenâ illius consensione suum ministerium exercent; ut denique de

illorum probitate constet etiam apud eos, qui de Ecclesiæ gremio non sunt; Episcopum enim (ut docet Apostolus, i. ad Timoth. 3. 7.) oportet, et testimonium habere bonum ab iis, qui foris sunt. Hæc cum ita sint, ex traditâ nobis auctoritate indulgemus, ut qui ad Episcopatum, vel Decanatum designati ac propositi sunt a Clero, admitti, vel rejici a rege possint juxta rogatam legem. Postquam igitur Clerus illos de more delegerit, quos ad occupandas hujusmodi dignitates digniores in D^{no} judicaverit, Metropolitanus provinciæ in Hibernia, Vicarius vero Apostolicus Senior in Angliâ et Scotiâ illos comitatus denunciabunt, ut regia inde approbatio, sive dissensio habeatur. Si candidati rejecti fuerint, alii proponentur, qui regi placeant: si vero probati, Metropolitanus, aut Vicarius Apostolicus, ut supra, acta mittet ad sacram hanc Congregationem, quæ singulorum meritis rite perpensis, canonicam a Summo Pontifice institutionem obtinendam curabit. Illud quoque video commissum esse eidem comitatui munus, ut nempe litteras examinare debeat quæ alicui ex Clero Britannico ab ecclesiasticâ potestate scribuntur, ac diligenter inquirere, an aliquid illæ contineant, quod gubernio offensum sit, aut publicam tranquillitatem perturbare aliquo modo possit. Cum in ecclesiasticis, ac spiritualibus rebus, non interdicta sit cum Capite Ecclesiæ communicatio, sed comitatus inspectio ad politicum tantum referatur, erit etiam in hoc acquiescendum. Bonum est, ut regimen istud nullam plane concipere possit de nostrâ communicatione suspicionem. Cunctis patere possunt ea, quæ scribimus; non enim nos ullo pacto miscemus in iis, quæ civilia sunt, sed ea tantum inqui-

rimus, quæ divina, et ecclesiastica lex, ac bonus, ecclesiæ ordo postulare videntur. Ea tantum secretò servanda erunt, quæ internum conscientiæ forum afficiunt; at in iis satis cautum fuisse video per regulas ab eadem lege traditas; satis nobis persuasum est, sapiens istud regimen, dum publicæ securitati consulere vult, nunquam proinde exigere velle, ut Catholici religioni desint suæ; imo potius gratum habere, ut illam sedulo observent; hæc enim sancta, et plane divina religio publicæ potestati favet, solia firmat, subditosque facit obtemperantes, fideles, studiososque patriæ. Nihil propterea potest Apostolicæ sedi gratius ac jucundius accidere, quam ut inter gubernium istud, et Catholicos illi subjectos, plena concordia, mutuaque fiducia servetur; ut reipublicæ moderatores de Catholicorum fidelitate, obedientiâ, atque adhæsiione dubitare numquam possint; ut denique Catholici ipsi omni planè studio, candore, alacritate, patriæ deserviant. *Quapropter omnes in Domino hortamur*, præsertim vero Episcopos, ut omni contentione sepositâ, ad cæterorum edificationem, omnes unanimiter idipsum sapiant ac sentiant, ut nullus detur *schismati* locus, nec ullum rei Catholicae damnum inferatur, verum si lata fuerit lex, quâ Catholici a pœnis, quibus obstricti sunt, liberentur, eam non modo æquo animo amplectantur juxta ea, quæ dicta sunt, sed etiam Majestati suæ, et magnificentissimo ejus Concilio maximas agant, pro tanto beneficio gratias, eoque se dignos exhibeant. Denique Ampl^m. Tuam rogamus, ut cunctis istius, Regni Episcopis Vicariisque Apostolicis epistolam hanc, communicari curet; ac fore sperantes, ut his, quæ ex tributâ nobis potestate decreta sunt, promptè, plenèque

sese conforment, Deum O. M. precor, ut Amplit^m.
Tuam diutissime hospitet, atque interim omni cum
observantiâ me tibi obstrictum profiteor.

Obsequentissimus Famulus,

J. B. QUARANTOTTI, *Vice Præf^r.*

MICHAEL ADRODATUS GALLEASSI, *Subst^r.*

Datum Romæ, ex Ædibus de Propagandâ
Fide, 16 Februarii, 1814.

*Ill^{ms} ac R^{ms} D^{ns} Guillelmo Poynter,
Epis^o. Haliensi, Vicario Londini
Apostolico, Londinum.*

No. X.

Resolutions establishing the General Committee of 1809.

At a meeting held at the Exhibition Room, William Street, May 24, 1809, the following resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved, We, the Catholics of Ireland, have made repeated petitions for the relief of our grievances. The greatest and wisest of men, both in and out of parliament, both in and out of office, were decidedly in favour of the expediency and justice of our claims; and they further insisted, that it was necessary to the very existence of the empire to interest in its defence a population of from four to five millions of Catholics, constituting more than a fourth of the United Kingdom. We are now unhappily and experimentally convinced, that no principle of justice, no force of reasoning, is suffi-

cient to counteract a malignant influence, which threatens the empire with general contamination and consequent destruction. Public delinquents and defrauders would put to hazard the existence of the reigning family, and the integrity of the empire, rather than restore the people to the privileges of the constitution, which would produce such wholesome reform of abuses as must deprive themselves of the opportunity of undue influence and speculation. Under these discouraging circumstances, without hope of success at present, we are unwilling to agitate our claims by petition to parliament, feeling that rejection might increase the discontent already existing in our body; and we cannot be indifferent to the pernicious effect of acquainting authentically, through the debates of the British parliament, our potent and too successful enemy, of the internal divisions and the corruptions of the state in the only powerful nation not yet subject to his control.—Proposed by Mr. Keogh.

Resolved unanimously, That the noble Lords who compose the Catholic peerage, and the survivors of the persons who were in the year 1793 delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, and acquitted themselves of that charge with zeal, talent, and permanent utility, together with the persons who were appointed by the Catholic citizens of Dublin to prepare a late address, do possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That in case of the death, or want of confidence in any of the above-mentioned persons, the remainder shall receive among them such per-

son or persons as shall distinctly appear to them to possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That the persons who composed the committees to manage the petitions in the years 1805 and 1807 do form part of the above body, so that the number of those added does not exceed forty-two.—Proposed by Mr. Burke, of Glynske.

Resolved unanimously, That it be confided to the foregoing noblemen and gentlemen to take into consideration the form of a petition to parliament, and the mode of presenting it, so that the same may be prepared by the first day of the next session.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof. Therefore, that it be imperative upon them to have the said petition presented to parliament within the first fortnight of the next session.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the above-mentioned persons be authorised to receive subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant on the Catholic petition.—Proposed by Mr. Burke.

Resolved unanimously, That from the activity, zeal, integrity, and ability, evinced by Edward Hay, Esq. in the discharge of his duty as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, he is hereby appointed to act as secretary to

the aforesaid body.—Proposed by Mr. Loler, County Tipperary.

FINGAL, Chairman.

The Earl of Fingal having left the chair, and Sir Francis Goold, Bart., being called thereto,

Resolved unanimously, That the most marked thanks of this meeting are hereby offered to the Earl of Fingal, for his dignified and proper conduct on this and every other occasion.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

No. XI.

Resolutions and Petition for Unqualified Emancipation, 31st Jan. 1810.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at the committee room, No. 4, Crow Street, on the 31st Jan. 1810,

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart., in the Chair,

Resolved, That, solemnly protesting against the unrelenting system of intolerance, which the Catholics of Ireland appear to be doomed in this enlightened age to endure, we are yet steadfastly determined to persevere in claiming our emancipation:

And by our constancy in this just pursuit, and by availing ourselves of all warrantable means for this purpose, to prove ourselves worthy of those equal rights, and liberties, which we demand, and can never consent, to forego.

Resolved, That, not dismayed by past disappointments, or deterred by existing difficulties, we shall take every occasion to utter our complaints, to solicit ample discussion, and to render our degraded and oppressed condition universally known, relying, that the unerring influence of justice and sound reason (to which we appeal) must speedily subdue those blind and fatal prejudices, which obstruct the freedom and happiness of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the indispensable duty of this committee to have their petition to parliament presented to both houses, so that the entire merits of our cause may be fairly and amply discussed.

Resolved, That the Earl of Fingal be requested forthwith to cause our petitions to both houses of parliament to be so proceeded upon, as to ensure that inquiry and discussion, which the honour and interest of the Catholic body imperiously require.

The following is the copy of that petition :

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled ;

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of ourselves and others, his Majesty's subjects, professing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, humbly beg leave to represent to this honourable house—

That we, your petitioners, did, in the years 1805 and 1808, humbly petition this honourable house, praying the total abolition of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland.

We now feel ourselves obliged, in justice to ourselves,

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our families, and our country, once more to solicit the attention of this honourable house to the subject of our said petition.

We state, that the Catholics constitute the most numerous and increasing portion of the inhabitants of Ireland, comprising an immense majority of the manufacturing, trading, and agricultural interests, and amounting at least to four-fifths of the Irish population; that they contribute largely to the exigencies of their country, civil and military; that they pay the far greater part of the public and local taxes; that they supply the armies and navies of this empire with upwards of one-third part in number of the soldiers and sailors employed in the public service; and that notwithstanding heavy discouragements, they form the principal constituent part of the strength, wealth, and industry of Ireland.

Yet such is the grievous operation of the penal laws, of which we complain, that the Roman Catholics are thereby not only set apart from their fellow subjects as aliens in their native land, but are ignominiously and rigorously proscribed from almost all situations of public trust, honour, or emolument, including every public function and department, from the houses of legislature down to the most petty corporation.

We state, whenever the labour of public duty is to be exacted and enforced, the Catholic is sought out and selected; where honours or rewards are to be dispensed, he is neglected or contemned.

Where the military and naval strength of the empire is to be recruited, the Catholics are eagerly solicited,

may compelled, to bear their full share in the perils of warfare, and in the lowest rank ; but when preferment or promotion (the dear and legitimate prize of successful valour) are to be distributed as rewards of merit, no laurels are destined to a Catholic's brow, or fit the wearer for command.

We state thus generally the grievous condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, occasioned solely by the fatal influence and operation of the penal laws ; and though we forbear to enter into greater detail, yet we do not the less trust to the influence of reason and justice (which eventually must prevail) for effecting a full and deliberate inquiry into our grievances, and accomplishing our effectual relief.

We do beg leave, however, most solemnly, to press upon the attention of this honourable house the imminent public dangers, which necessarily result from so inverted an order of things, and so vicious and unnatural a system of legislation ; a system, which has long been the reproach of this nation, and is unparalleled throughout modern Christendom.

And we state it as our fixed opinion, that to restore to the Catholics of Ireland a full, equal, and unqualified participation of the benefits of the laws and constitution of England, and to withdraw all the privations, restrictions, and vexatious distinctions, which oppress, injure, and afflict them in their country, is now become a measure not merely expedient, but absolutely necessary ; not only a debt of right due to a complaining people, but perhaps the last remaining resource of this empire, in the preservation of which we take so deep an interest.

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We therefore pray this honourable house to take into their most serious consideration the nature, extent, and operation of the aforesaid penal laws, and by repealing the same altogether, to restore to the Roman Catholics of Ireland those liberties so long withheld, and their due share in that constitution, which they, in common with their fellow subjects of every other description, contribute by taxes, arms, and industry, to sustain and defend.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. &c.

No. XII.

Circular Letter of the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.

Dublin Castle, February 12th, 1811.

SIR,

It being reported that the Roman Catholics in the county of ——— are to be called together, or have been called together, to nominate or appoint persons or representatives, delegates or managers, to act in their behalf as members of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself the Catholic Committee, you are required, in pursuance of the provisions of an Act of the 33rd of the King, chap. 29, to cause to be arrested, and to commit to prison (unless bail shall be given), all persons within your jurisdiction who shall be guilty of giving or having given, or of publishing, or having published, or of causing or having caused to be given or published, any written or other notice of the election and appointment, in any manner, of such representative, delegate, or manager, as aforesaid; or of

attending, voting, or acting, or of having attended, voted, or acted, in any manner, in the choice or appointment of such representative, delegate, or manager. And you are to communicate these directions, as far as lies in your power, forthwith, to the several magistrates of the said county of ———.

N. B. Sheriffs are to act under the warrant of magistrates in cases where the crime has been committed.

By command of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

W. W. POLE.

To ———, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIII.

Letter of the King on his leaving Ireland in 1821.

Dublin Castle, September 3rd, 1821.

MY LORD,

The time of the King's departure from Ireland being arrived, I am commanded by His Majesty to express his entire approbation of the manner in which all persons acting in civil and military situations in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood have performed their several duties during the period of His Majesty's residence in this part of the kingdom. His Majesty is pleased to consider, that to your Excellency his acknowledgments are particularly due: he is conscious how much he owes to your Excellency's attentions and arrangements; and His Majesty gladly avails himself of this occasion of declaring the high sense which he entertains of the ability, temper, and firmness, with which your

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Excellency has uniformly administered the great trust which he has placed in your hands.

I am further commanded to state, that the testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment which His Majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression on his mind; and that he looks forward to the period when he shall revisit them with the strongest feelings of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts that, in the mean time, not only the spirit of loyal union which now so generally exists will remain unabated and unimpaired, but that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced, mutual forbearance and good-will observed and encouraged, and security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord amongst themselves, which is not less essential to His Majesty's happiness than to their own; and which it has been the chief object of His Majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote.

His Majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguish the character of his faithful people of Ireland; and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with the confident and gratifying persuasion, that this parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign will not be given in vain.

I have the honour to be,

With great truth and regard, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And faithful Servant,

SIDMOUTH.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

No. XIV.

Rules and Regulations of the Catholic Association of Ireland, commencing Saturday, 24th May, 1823.

JOSKPH M'DONNELL, Esq. in the Chair.

The Committee appointed to prepare the draft of laws and regulations for the Association reported, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted :

That the Catholic Association be formed to adopt all such legal and constitutional measures as may be most useful to obtain Catholic emancipation.

That the Association is not a representative or delegated body ; and that it will not assume any representative or delegated authority or quality.

That such individuals as shall give in their names to the secretary, and pay an annual subscription of one pound two shillings and ninepence, be members of this Association ; and that same be payable each first day of January.

That no motion shall be debated at any meeting of this Association without one week's previous notice.

That all reporters for newspapers, &c. be at liberty to attend all the meetings of the Association.

That the Secretary do call an extraordinary meeting of the Association whenever required, by a requisition signed by at least twenty members.

That the proceedings of the Association as well as notices of motions be entered in a book, always open

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for inspection and reference; and that a book be also kept, containing as well the names as the address of each member, to be always open for inspection.

That no member be allowed to speak twice in any discussion, except the mover of the original question, who shall have the right to reply; such reply to close the debate.

That during any discussion every member be seated, except the member addressing the chairman.

That the object of the resolutions is to prevent as much as possible debate or discussion, but what must be absolutely necessary to ascertain the sense of each meeting.

That Saturday be the fixed day of meeting, subject to such adjournment as the Association may agree to.

That at least ten members must be in attendance in order to constitute a meeting of this Association.

That three o'clock in the afternoon be the fixed hour of all meetings; and that so soon as ten members are in attendance after three o'clock, the chair shall be immediately taken.

Treasurers and secretaries were appointed.

JOSEPH M'DONNELL, Chairman.

N. PORCELL O'GORMAN, Secretary.

1844

No. XV.

Report on the Practicability of forming the New Catholic Association.—Agreed to at the Aggregate Meeting held 13th July, 1825.

Mr. O'Gorman here read the following Report of the Committee of twenty-one. Several of the passages were received with the most enthusiastic applause, but more particularly that part which unfolds "the plan of the NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION."

The committee appointed by a general ballot to consider, in pursuance of the resolution of the last aggregate meeting, "whethor there can be framed, without any violation of the existing laws, a permanent body to assist in the conducting or management of such portion of Catholic affairs as it may be by law permitted to have managed, without resorting to the too frequent holding of aggregate meetings, and in particular, without in any way infringing on a recent statute," have agreed to the following

REPORT.

The Committee have endeavoured anxiously to fulfil the duty imposed upon them. They have been deeply impressed, on the one hand, with the conviction, that the cause of the Catholics must retrograde, and the calumnious imputations of their enemies increase in number, power, and effect, unless there be some permanent body watching over Catholic interests, and taking care to maintain and preserve the station the Catholics have already attained, while it is not permitted to pro-

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good farther. And on the other hand, we were and are unalterably determined, not to suggest or advise any course which could with any degree of fair dealing or justice be deemed any, even the slightest, infringement on the law.—We are determined to obey a statute which we cannot respect, and to set to our countrymen the example of a dutiful and ready submission to that which is law—notwithstanding our conviction of the impolicy of its enactment. We have, in fact, lately received from our Protestant fellow-countrymen such support as requires our utmost gratitude, and such advice as commands our ready and respectful obedience. We allude in particular to the advice of the illustrious noblemen lately assembled in London. They have recommended to the Catholics *firmness, temperance, and union*. We place full and cordial confidence in them and in their counsels, and we are resolved to merit their patronage and protection, by the alacrity with which we ourselves submit at all times to the law of the land, and the zeal and activity which we shall ever display, to procure a similar submission from all classes of our countrymen.

With these impressions, we have come to the determination to recommend to the Catholics of Ireland to conduct their affairs in future in strict obedience to the law, by managing, by means of a permanent association, such portion thereof as has no reference to obtaining relief or redress, or any alteration of the existing code—but to reserve every thing that relates to petitioning for relief, or obtaining legal redress, or altering the existing code, to such separate or aggregate meetings of short

duration as shall be in strict conformity with the recent statute.

We therefore beg leave to lay before the public the following plan of a New Catholic Association, and to express our unanimous and fixed conviction that it will not in any wise violate or infringe upon any law or statute whatsoever.

PLAN OF A NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

1st.—As it is desirable that the proposed New Catholic Association should combine Irishmen of all religious persuasions, it is expressly declared, that no person professing any of the forms of religious faith, allowed or tolerated by law, shall be excluded therefrom; but, on the contrary, Christians of all denominations are invited to become members thereof.

2d.—No member of the New Catholic Association shall be required to take any oath or make any declaration whatsoever.

3d.—To avoid the possibility of its being alleged, even by means of any perverse interpretation of the act of 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, that the New Catholic Association can come within the provisions thereof, it is expressly declared, that the New Catholic Association shall not assume, or in any manner or by any means or contrivance exercise, the power of acting, for the purpose or under the pretence of procuring the redress of grievances in church or state, or the alteration of any matters by law established in church or state; or for the purpose, or under the pretence of carrying on, or

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assisting in, the prosecution or defence of causes civil or criminal.

4th.—That the New Catholic Association shall not be composed of different divisions or branches, or of different parts acting in any manner separate or distinct from each other; and that there shall be no separate or distinct secretary, or delegate, or other officer elected or appointed by or for any particular part, or authorised to act for any particular part; neither shall the New Catholic Association communicate or correspond; neither shall its constitution contain any provision for communication or correspondence with any other society, committee, or body of persons; neither shall it, in any respect, act in any manner inconsistently with the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th.

5th.—The New Catholic Association can and may be formed merely for the purposes of public and private charity, and such other purposes as are not prohibited by the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th.

6th.—The first purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, that of promoting public peace and tranquillity, as well as private harmony and concord, amongst all classes of his Majesty's subjects throughout Ireland.

7th.—The second purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, the encouragement and extension of a liberal, enlightened, and religious system of education, founded on the basis of Christian charity and perfect fair dealing.

8th.—The third purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, that of ascertaining the number

of the population of Ireland, and the relative proportions which the professors of the various Christian persuasions bear the one to the other; and, in particular, to ascertain the number of children of each persuasion in a course of education.

9th.—The fourth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to devise the means of erecting suitable Catholic churches for the celebration of divine worship, and to procure and establish Catholic burial-grounds, wherein the Catholic dead may be interred, without being liable to any species of contumely or insult.

10th.—The fifth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to promote all improvements in science and in Irish agriculture, to encourage the consumption of Irish manufactures and the extension of Irish commerce.

11th.—The sixth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to encourage as much as possible a liberal and enlightened press, to circulate works calculated to promote just principles and mutual toleration and kindness, and to vindicate the principles of the Catholics against the unjust and slanderous attacks daily made upon them.

12th.—The seventh purpose of the New Catholic Association will be, to procure a detailed statement of the various charges made against the Catholics in the petitions presented to parliament during the recent sessions, and to publish authentic refutations of such charges, in the places where they respectively originated.

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18th.—That every person who shall think fit, on or before a day to be named, to pay the sum of one pound on his admission, shall be a member of the New Catholic Association; and, after that day, each person paying one pound, and procuring one member to propose and another to second him, shall also be a member.

The committee having thus stated affirmatively and negatively the limits within which the New Catholic Association can and ought to act, deem it their duty to call the attention of the Catholics in general to those provisions of the statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, which must restrain the sphere of the New Catholic Association, and render it necessary for the Catholics in general to seek for redress and relief, through the medium of other meetings, and by the intervention of other instruments.

That most unconstitutional statute prohibits these two things—

First, The sacred right of petitioning for the redress of real and substantial grievances in the only mode likely to be successful; namely, by the intervention of a committee or association, of sufficient duration to be able to make useful, and in fact necessary arrangements.

Second, The right of such committee or association giving any pecuniary assistance to the poor and oppressed, in order to enable them to punish by due course of law their oppressors: it being obvious, that without money there can be little prospect of being able to take the measures necessary to obtain redress from any legal tribunal.

Now, as the New Catholic Association cannot interfere in any way to procure redress from parliament or the courts of law; and as the Catholics certainly suffer the cruellest oppressions, and the most unjust exclusions from the undoubted rights of British subjects, it is incumbent on them to adopt other means altogether unconnected with the New Association, of preparing and presenting petitions to parliament, and also for preventing and punishing acts of individual oppression and of party insolence.

The petitions to parliament must of course be altogether unconnected with the New Catholic Association, and must originate with and be conducted by general or aggregate meetings; which, as the law now stands, may be continued by adjournment for fourteen days and no longer.

It is obvious that it would be impossible to arrange all the petitions necessary to be presented to parliament in the ensuing sessions, in one space of fourteen days.

It is advisable to have a petition presented from every parish in Ireland.

The country should be therefore taken separately by counties. There can, in point of law, be fourteen days given to each county, separately and distinctly; but the business of petitioning for each county must be conducted by general or aggregate meetings, unconnected with the New Catholic Association; and such general or aggregate meetings can continue to sit for the petitions of each county during fourteen days, according to the provisions of the statute.

Thus the New Catholic Association will have to

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attend to details in Catholic affairs, consistent with the duration of our present grievances, and with an acquiescence in our present sufferings.

The separate or aggregate meetings must and will seek for the redress of grievances, and the alteration of those matters in church and state by which we are oppressed.

The committee further very earnestly recommend to the Irish people, to make the repeal of the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, the first object of a petition to the legislature; and that such petition do state to the legislature the unconstitutional and oppressive nature of that statute, and expose to parliament the falsehood of the pretexts on which it was enacted.

The committee further beg leave to suggest, that in the management of the further petitions of the Catholics of Ireland, care be taken to have our claims for relief brought before parliament, and kept free from any extraneous matter or any details on subjects of any other description, we being convinced that the simple and single object of obtaining unconditional and unqualified relief from our disabilities, should be solely attended to, as well by the Catholics themselves as by their friends in parliament.

July 11th, 1825

Gonville Ffrench, Chairman.

**Gormanston
Killeen
Edward Preston
John Burke**

**O'Conor Don
Nicholas Mahon
C. Macloghlin
James John Bagott**

Daniel O'Connell	Philip Fogarty
Nicholas Puroell O'Gorman	Michael Bellew
William Murphy	Stephen Coppinger
Michael O'Brien	George Bryan
Richard Sheil	Hugh O'Connor.

The committee have further agreed to the following resolution :—

Resolved, that the committee of twenty-one gladly avail themselves of the present opportunity to return to Daniel O'Connell their marked thanks for the undiminished zeal and talent with which he has prepared the plan of a report for the formation of a new association.

NO. XVI.

NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

Dublin, Saturday, July 23.

DOWELL O'REILLY, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Conway was appointed Secretary to the meeting.

Mr. John Dillon presented the Report of the Committee of twenty-one, and proceeded to read the document, of which the following is a copy :—

REPORT.

The committee appointed to report upon rules and regulations to govern the New Catholic Association do report as follows :—

APPENDIX:

1st.—That the Report of the Committee of twenty-one, agreed to at the late aggregate meeting, be inserted on the minutes of this Association.

2d.—That in pursuance of the suggestions in the said report, we are a society formed and acting merely for the several purposes not prohibited by the 6th Geo. IVth, cap. 4th; and that our proceedings be governed by the following rules and regulations:—

3rd.—That such individuals as shall give in their names to the secretary on or before the first of Nov. next, and pay an annual subscription of one pound, be members of this Association; and that after that day, each person paying one pound, and proposed by one member and seconded by another, shall also be a member.

4th.—That a new subscription be payable on every first day of January in every year; and that any gentleman who shall be one month in arrear of his subscription, shall cease to be a member.

5th. That no person (a gentleman of the press excepted) shall be allowed to be present at any meeting of this Association, without having paid the sum of one pound, as above required.

6th. That all gentlemen of the press be at liberty to attend the meetings of this Association, on leaving their names with the secretary and obtaining tickets.

7th.—That no motion shall be debated at any meeting of this Association without one week's previous notice.

8th.—That ——— be appointed joint Treasurers to the Association.

9th.—That a committee of twenty-one be appointed a committee of finance and accounts.

10th.—That the Secretary do call an extraordinary meeting of the Association whenever required by a requisition, signed by at least twenty members.

11th.—That a Secretary and two honorary assistant Secretaries be appointed.

12th.—That every requisition for an extraordinary meeting, with the original signatures, be posted in the meeting room of the Association, and be entered in the book of proceedings, prior to the meeting convened.

13th.—That the purpose of each extraordinary meeting be signified in the requisition, and in the notice calling such meeting.

14th.—That the rules and regulations be posted in the meeting room of the Association.

15th.—That no expense on account of the Association be incurred, without an order of the Association expressive of the purpose; and that no money be paid by the Treasurer, save on an order signed by the acting Secretary, and at least three members of the committee of accounts.

16th.—That the proceedings of the Association, as well as the notices of motions, be entered in a book always open for inspection and reference, and that a book be also kept, containing the name and the address of each member, to be always open for inspection.

17th.—That the chairman do not receive any motion

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or resolution, unless such motion or resolution be delivered to him in writing.

18th.—That no member have a right to speak twice in any discussion, except the mover of the original question, who shall have the privilege to reply; such reply to close the debate.

19th.—That no second amendment (except a motion to adjourn) be received until the first amendment shall have been disposed of.

20th.—That Wednesday be the fixed day of meeting, subject to such adjournment as the Association may agree to.

21st.—That at least ten members must be in attendance, in order to constitute a meeting of the Association.

22d.—That three o'clock in the afternoon be the fixed hour of all meetings, and that as soon as ten members are in attendance, after three o'clock, the chair shall be immediately taken.

That the Catholic clergy of Ireland be members of this Association.

No. XVII.

EXTRACTS FROM MONSIEUR DUVERGIER'S LETTERS
ON THE STATE OF IRELAND, 1826.*

LETTER II.

Meeting at Ballinasloe—Traces of the conquest—General agitation—Connaught—Meeting in a chapel—Portrait of Sheil—Irish Catholicity—Votes of thanks—Summary influence of the Catholic priesthood—Census of Waterford.

I assisted the 8th of October at the meeting at Ballinasloe, and the following observations were written the day after:—

To Hell or Connaught.—It is now more than one hundred years since Cromwell pronounced this dreadful denunciation, and it might be said, that it has ever since served as the rule of conduct which has animated and directed the measures of every constituted authority which has succeeded him. In Ireland as in France, after the invasion, as in England after the conquest, there were two nations, the conquerors, and the conquered; whom the progress of time would gradually have blended together, had not English policy exhausted every effort in keeping them perpetually asun-

* This talented gentleman, accompanied by the Duke of Montebello and the Messrs. Thayer (French Protestants), made a tour through the principal part of Ireland, shortly after the general election, 1826. The pamphlet from which this extract is translated was published on his return to Paris, and has since been most extensively circulated on the continent.

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der. It is thus that the soil of that unfortunate country still continues to bear two races essentially distinct—the one which commands, the other which obeys;—the one which reposes, the other which labours;—the one which suffers, the other which enjoys. Except in some of the principal cities, in vain do you look for those intermediary classes, who are at once the strength and ornament of society. There is nothing between the master and the slave, between the cabin and the palace; there is nothing between all the luxuries of existence, and the last degree of human wretchedness; nothing, in fine, between the Englishman and the Irishman, the Protestant and the Catholic (for to this every thing resolves itself at last); and what is the last perfection of the evil, these distinctions are not as elsewhere the natural result of an inequality in the human faculties, or in the rights of property, but the growth of a bad and feeble policy: the conquest created them; oppression has maintained them: and though, since the period of 1782, the Catholics have been permitted the right of acquiring land, yet forty years of imperfect toleration have not been sufficient altogether to efface the deeply-written traces of so long a period of political degradation. Nine tenths of the landed property belongs to the English, to the Protestants; and the Catholics, who have acquired or accumulated property by patient and personal exertions, are mere upstarts, whom they have a right to despise. As to the peasantry, they may think themselves well treated, if they are allowed to rank with the beasts of the field. But listen to the reasoning of the most liberal of these *landlords*, on what he is

pleased to term, the insurrection and revolt of the forty-shilling freeholders.* He cannot conceive it possible that they should possess a will, an opinion, a conscience of their own. Of what consequence was it that Lord George Beresford was the declared enemy of the Catholics? He was their lord and their master, and it was their bounden duty to return him to parliament. Besides, was it not for that express purpose he made them freeholders?† To drive them on to acts of disobedience, every way so criminal, was to burst asunder all the bonds of society, to break through every natural relation, and bring back upon earth the confusion and anarchy of chaos once again. It would be quite as reasonable to counsel the horse to rebel against the man.

Such is the reasoning to which I am compelled to listen almost every day; and all the arguments employed by the colonists of Martinique and Guadaloupe, when their negroes are in question, I find them here in mouths which, at the other side of the channel, are loudest in their exclamations of *No slave trade! No slavery!* There is, however, a right more sacred and important than any one of these, and of which no one has yet thought proper to deprive the Catholics of Ireland, and that is, the right of assembling and of discussing in public their own

* It is well known, that in the last election many of the freeholders voted against their landlords. It was thus that Lord George Beresford lost the representation of the county of Waterford.

† To constitute a freeholder in Ireland, it is sufficient to possess a life-interest of 40s. per annum, and this interest an acre, or half an acre is sufficient to confer. Hence the custom of planting freeholders, like trees, upon a property.

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affairs. Thus what the 80,000 electors of France, the aristocracy of the country, would not think of attempting, here an oppressed caste actually effect, without the slightest fear or impediment whatsoever. Convened every day by the call of a free press, they are in motion at this moment over the surface of the entire country. There is not a county, nor a city, nor a borough, nor a parish, where there are not meetings, to address petitions to the new parliament, to pass votes of thanks to the forty-shilling freeholders, and what is still more to the purpose, to offer assistance and support to those very men whom their masters have, in consequence of their late conduct, unmercifully ejected from their holdings. O'Connell and Sheil fly from province to province, from meeting to meeting. Every where they are received with enthusiasm: every where their eloquent declamations rouse in the souls of the old Milesians the stern sense of their strength and their degradation. To enforce obedience, they require neither *gens d'armes* nor soldiers. A word of theirs is of more power than twenty decrees of the Lord Lieutenant; and the delegates of old England are compelled to tremble before two lawyers! Admirable fruit of this wise system of policy! Brilliant result of an administration which pretends to govern with the edge of the sword, and convert by the scourge of the law!

On the boundaries of Connaught, in the small town of Ballinasloe, there is held annually a fair, where 120,000 sheep and 40,000 horned cattle are brought to market. There the farmer of Connaught comes to sell, and the farmer of Leinster to buy: there, from the most distant

parts a crowd is assembled, as if for the holding of a general congress. The Catholics could not possibly choose a better season; nor a better theatre. If the ancient *Eryn* exists still in any part of the country, it is to be found in Connaught. Situated in the most remote part of Ireland, the last subdued, and at different periods assigned as a prison to the conquered population, this province, more than any other, has preserved its ancient religion, and even its ancient language. There, at an earlier period than in any other part of Ireland, was gradually formed a class of independent *gentry*,* whose belief and interests were strictly identified with those of the majority of the people. It is this gentry in particular who feel themselves aggrieved by the operation of the penal laws; and it was this class which yesterday were assembled in crowds at the meeting of Ballinasloe.—Emancipation—*full*, total, and unconditional emancipation, such is at present the unanimous cry of six millions of men. One would be inclined to say, that this single word contained within itself the panacea for all the sufferings of Ireland. For the Catholic proprietor, it signifies a place in parliament; for the lawyer, a silk gown;† for the poor, bread. In the midst of this fever of hope, the wise statesman well knows, that the effects of so many ages of oppression are not to be got rid of in a day; but he also knows, that without eman-

* The appellation of the country proprietors.

† The silk gown gives the barrister on whom the king thinks proper to confer such a distinction very many important privileges, for instance, that of being entitled to bring forward the cause in which he is engaged before any other counsel employed.

cipation nothing can be done; and he gives all his support to every exertion which is calculated to obtain it. We are no longer in the times of helotism; and to exist in peace, on the same soil, it is necessary that all should be in the full enjoyment of the same rights. In France, a child is capable of understanding this; but in this country of England, in other particulars so enlightened, there are men who still continue to deny it. For the honour of their intellect, let us hope they are not sincere; for the honour of their sincerity, let us hope . . . : but on them must depend the choice.

An old chapel, without any ornament, white-washed, and half in ruins; before the altar a platform, rudely constructed; on the left, a gallery for the men; another for the women on the right; on the platform, about two hundred country gentlemen, in a sort of morning dress, which is not without its pretension; and in every other part of the chapel, a peasant population, of a savage aspect, and a picturesque costume: such was the singular spectacle which was first presented to me at the great meeting of Ballinasloe. After having called, as is customary, the most distinguished individual present to the chair, and chosen the most intelligent for secretary, the proceedings were opened; the most profound silence prevailed on all sides; and a series of *resolutions*, prepared the day before, were successively submitted to the opinion of the assembly. The recollections which I had of the country gentlemen of Lancashire gave me some reason to apprehend the eloquence of the country gentlemen of Connaught; yet almost all of them expressed themselves with the utmost

warmth and facility. Whilst one of these speakers was engaged in deploring the long-continued perfidy of England, and recalling to the recollection of his auditors the menacing example of America, thunders of applause burst forth on a sudden from every quarter: every hat was waved over the head; and a piercing cry, the expression of joy amongst the Irish, shook the chapel to its very roof. It was *Mr. Sheil*, who had just appeared on the platform, and whose unexpected presence at the meeting produced this electric effect. Were I commissioned to take down the *signalement* of Mr. Sheil, this would be very nearly the result. *Five feet; eyes, quick and piercing; complexion, pale; chin, pointed; hair, dark:* and in adding, *mouth, middle-sized*, I flatter myself I should have given a description not to be excelled in exactness at the *bureau des passe-portes*. But this is the portrait of the *gentleman*; that of the *orator* is widely diverse. When you behold that little gascon figure in repose, it is impossible to suspect to what changes passion is capable of converting it. There is in Sheil something of Juvenal, of Pindar, and of Mirabeau. His satire is shrewd and biting; his poetry dazzles; his enthusiasm carries you away. When he flings forth his sarcasm, a bitter smile contracts his lips; when he threatens, his eyes dart forth lightnings; when he is under the dominion of poetical inspiration, they take an expression altogether sublime. His voice is meagre, harsh, and shrill; but a profound emotion seems to regulate its vibrations. His gesture is quick, abrupt, and rather disorderly; but it is always in perfect accord with such sentiments as he has to express. Sheil pos-

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nesses, in an eminent degree, the surprising faculty of exerting himself to the very verge of delirium, without once losing his complete self-possession. I was at his side whilst speaking; and more than once I saw all his limbs tremble beneath him: a moment after he resumed the discussion, with not less composure than ingenuity. Like the English, whom in other particulars he so little resembles, Sheil is too fond of quotations. Certain passages in bad taste, it may also be observed, occasionally disfigure the best of his speeches; and in general it has been remarked, that in both elocution and diction, there is something too much of the theatre about him. These reproaches have some appearance of being well founded; and more than once, indeed, I imagined I had the figure of Kean actually before me; but then I must also add that Kean is a very admirable actor. In a word, I was seduced; I was dazzled; and together with me the whole assembly. During an entire hour, one single soul, that of the orator, seemed to animate this living mass; and from time to time you would have said, that an electric shock completely convulsed them. I never before assisted at so absolute a triumph.

Before Mr. Sheil, several orators had been heard with applause; after him, it would appear there was nothing more to be done than to remain silent. A young gentleman, however, of the neighbourhood, Mr. M'Dermott, still found means to keep up the attention of the meeting. What will the Bishop of Hermopolis say to the following propositions?—

1. The state should have no established religion. It should preserve its neutrality between them all.

2. Salvation is possible in all religions, provided you believe honestly and sincerely the religion you profess to be the best.

3. To attempt seizing on public education, with a view of converting it into a monopoly for any particular class or sect, is to disturb in a direct manner the order of society.

4 The spirit of proselytism is deserving of censure. Each creed or sect ought to remain quiet within its respective limits.

5. To keep the clergy virtuous, it is requisite to keep them poor. Make them rich, and you corrupt them.

These certainly are very abominable maxims, principles the most injurious and atheistical: philosophism has produced nothing more pernicious. Yet such are the very principles which the Catholics preach from Dublin to Galway, and from Derry to Bantry Bay; and as Catholicity is essentially *one*, I have good reason to presume, that until this moment we have been altogether ignorant of its doctrines. But this is not all; you may here laugh as much as you think proper at the Bible, provided you do so in attacking the Bible societies. Mr. Sheil has done so, more than once, and he is not less a favourite of the clergy in consequence. Voltaire himself, with this trifling precaution, would have soon become their *protégé*. They read in the meeting of yesterday a letter quite full of that mystical jargon, so much applauded in our modern seminaries. There was nothing but pious sighs, fervent acts of contrition, devout aspirations to Heaven, the whole seasoned with

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comparisons, and figures, and tropes, borrowed from Holy Writ. At Paris, it would have been quoted as the sublime effusion of a tender and religious spirit; but as it was written by a minister of the established church, it was laughed at, at Ballinasloe, as an absolute model of hypocrisy and folly. In fine, Catholicity and Protestantism in this country seem altogether to have changed sides; the latter is *bigotical* and intolerant, the former has suddenly become almost philosophical. Now this is an incarnation more extraordinary than all the incarnations of Vishnou; and hence it is, that it is not every one who is willing to give credit to the fact. Whatever may be the case, I should like to know how the Etoile will translate the following phrase of Mr. M'Dermott: "They talk to us without ceasing of Protestant ascendancy. This word ascendancy in a free state is what I cannot comprehend—and applied to Catholicity, I should feel as much horror of it, as I do at this moment when applied to Protestantism."

As no one was empowered to close the proceedings of the assembly, towards the end of the day we were obliged to endure the eloquence of four or five orators of the most interminable modesty. Each commenced his discourse by announcing that he would not abuse our patience, and each spoke for a full hour, lengthening their speeches by the frequent repetition of their intention to confine themselves within the limits of a few words. Three amongst them were called *princes*; for there are very few Irishmen who are not descended from two or three kings at the very least. Unfortunately, however, it was very easily perceived that

their Highnesses had not yet provided themselves with ministers qualified to prepare their speeches for the public. After this came the *votes of thanks*, which, as a matter of course, called for a return from those who had already been thus honoured. Language was inadequate to express their feelings, a circumstance which did not prevent them however from expressing them at great length. The forty-shilling freeholders were then thanked, and the orators, and the secretary, and the newspaper editors, and Lord Wellesley, and Mr. O'Connell, and the spectators, and for aught I know, the carpenter who was employed to erect the platform. At last came the turn of the chairman, and he was thanked with all the rest, for the very impartial and dignified manner with which he repeated about fifty times, "As many as are of opinion that the resolution should pass, will say 'Aye;' as many as are of the contrary opinion, will say 'No.'" It was now about seven o'clock, and thirty resolutions and a petition had been unanimously adopted. The Catholics of Connaught in quitting the chapel, sate down to a table, where, from health to health, and from speech to speech, the boldest amongst them continued till about four o'clock in the morning. During all this time the port wine did not for an instant cease to circulate, or the punch to flow. What pains one must take to obtain common justice!

A meeting cannot be supposed to be as dramatic as the day of an election. It is what a review may be imagined to be compared to a battle: but a review may at times give expressive evidence of many an important

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particular. In the temple of a persecuted religion I saw assembled an immense multitude. I saw them shudder at the recital of their sufferings, burst forth at the mention of their oppressors, exult at the name of America and freedom. Under the control of their priests and orators, united, compact, firm, I saw them ready to rush on to the very first appeal which should call them forward. Has England then forgotten Boston? There is a lofty principle in human nature, which revolts against every species of constraint; and far from enfeebling by time, two centuries of unremitting persecution have only more and more contributed to render Catholicism national in Ireland. It may be a misfortune, but it is not less a fact, and it is a lesson which the history of all nations ought to have taught England already. The Irish peasantry have been reproached with being the slaves of their priesthood—who made them such? Enter their miserable cabin of mud, without a chimney, without a bed, without furniture of any kind, and behold the numerous family, who, laid pell-mell on the earth, have not even a mattress to lie on, or a blanket to cover their nakedness. With how many enemies, how many oppressors, is the inmate surrounded? There are, first, the middlemen, intermediary farmers, tyrants of the second order, made use of by the absentee proprietors to extort from the poor cultivator an exorbitant rent. Then comes the Protestant parson, with menaces and maledictions in his mouth, to extract his share also, from a subsistence scarcely sufficient for the bare wants of human nature. Of ten potatoes, one belongs to him—to *him*, who, minister of a hostile reli-

gion, knows only how to curse and insult, whom it is his duty and profession to aid and bless. Nor is this all. It is found necessary to build a new church or to repair the old. A meeting of Protestants is immediately convened—a tax, the church-rate, is passed, and this tax is instantly assessed on the miserable Catholic. Should he refuse to pay, or be unprovided with the means, his pig is immediately seized, and his ruin consummated without delay. In the midst of this organised system of plunder, this legal vampirism, the gentry in their turn come forward to claim their portion of the spoil. Assembled in grand juries, they pass presentments for roads, calculated only to improve the approaches to their own residences; and new tax-gatherers go through the cabins, where they are met by others appointed by the state. In this wretched situation appears a man who, clothed with a sacred character, brings with him wherever he goes the balms of a kindly consolation. He speaks in the name of God—he promises another and a better world—he points beyond the tomb to a state of happiness without change or alloy, as the price and recompence of so much human endurance and resignation. How is it possible that such a man should not be listened to? This man moreover is not a stranger: he is a brother—he is a friend. Born in the cabin himself, he is deeply, he is painfully alive to all its privations: he is, farther, poor—he is Irish—he is oppressed; and human sympathy adds a new force and sanction to the divine word. Once more I ask, how is it possible that such a man should not be listened to?

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Let no one then be surprised at the progress of Catholicity in Ireland. To renounce it, is not only to change religion: it is to change country; the same word, *Sassenach*, designates at once the Englishman and the Protestant. At the meeting of Ballinasloe Mr. Sheil read an extract from a census which has lately been completed in the county of Waterford. There are 10,000 Protestants, and 280,000 Catholics. Such figures are more eloquent than all the reasoning in the world. Yet such is the feeble minority who pretend to retain for themselves exclusively all power. Such is the faction who, by unjust enactments, irritating speeches, by public processions, oppress, and brave at the same time, an entire nation.

This is a state of things which cannot possibly endure: it must terminate some way or other, either by a legislative enactment or by open violence; and, to adopt the words of an enlightened statesman, "The degradation of the Catholics in England is a crime: in Ireland it is more, it is a crime and an error."

LETTER III.

Alarm of the Orangemen—Speech of the Duc de Montebello—English magnanimity—Egotism of the Catholics—The Association—Portrait of O'Connell, Lawless, Wyse, Æneas M'Donnell—Speech of O'Connell—Power of the Association—Orange blunder.

A little smoke on the side of Mount Vesuvius is sufficient to alarm the inhabitant of Portici; and the

Irish Orangeman thinks himself exposed to certain destruction the moment he hears murmurs of toleration, liberty, and above all, of revolution. At these dreadful words, though pronounced by chance, his frame becomes agitated, his countenance disturbed, and the disorder of his whole person betrays the secret of his weakness. The following is a recent example. One of our countrymen, the Duc de Montebello, assisted at the meeting of Ballinasloe. Flattered at having a peer of France the witness of their energetic reclamations to the legislature, the Catholics of Connaught honoured him with a vote of thanks, to which he replied by the expression of every wish for the success of their cause. This is a circumstance of almost daily occurrence in England. In Ireland, however, the case is different; simple as it was, it was instantly converted into a matter of state. The Catholics rejoiced at it as at an object of the first importance, and the government was sufficiently absurd to evince indications of alarm. More than one meeting of the privy council was held in Dublin to deliberate on the dangers which might be apprehended by their party. Protestant meetings took place, where the speakers held forth in great detail on treason, imprisonment, and even on the scaffold. In the interval the papers were not backward. One denounced to the public execration, "the son of one of the chiefs of that sanguinary horde, whom France, in the days of her Atheism, had vomited forth upon the rest of Europe;" another converted him into "the emissary of the Jesuits at Rome;" and a third called for the peremptory execution of the *Alien Bill*, forgetting that its provisions had

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long since expired. The grave "Connor" discovered in the speech of the Duc de Montebello "the cloven foot of foreign invasion;" and the "John Bull," with a delicacy peculiarly aristocratic, reproached him with not having a rental of 8,000*l.* a year, thus calling in the aid of one prejudice against another. All, in fine, dreamt that Ireland was in flames; and the "Times" itself, the wise and sagacious Times, sent his Grace to conspire with Mr. Sheil against the Protestant religion and the House of Hanover. In the midst of this powerful empire of Great Britain were already exhibited all those paltry little fears, all those miserable suspicions, all those disgraceful agonies of apprehension, which are worthy only of the Lombard-Austrian government—just punishment of intolerance and persecution! It is already for the oppressed a beginning of vengeance.

Yet, after all, what was this extraordinary speech, at once jesuitical and seditious, diplomatic and incendiary, which shook to its centre the British empire, and forced to tremble on its base, the glorious, pious, and immortal statue of the great and good King William? I will give you the original.

"Were I an Irishman, I should endeavour to render myself deserving of the honour which you have just conferred upon me, by making every exertion in my power for the support and advancement of your cause. But, stranger as I am, what can I offer beyond the simple expression of my most ardent wishes for your welfare and deliverance? It is a consoling thing to meet with men amongst whom the words of justice and toleration are not yet become mere empty sounds. Of such

men there are many in France. And how is it possible we should be insensible to your sufferings—we who, delivered within a few years from our bondage, have not yet forgotten the period when we yet struggled for our delivery? We have at last conquered our civil and religious liberties; we have conquered them, by that glorious revolution, so little understood by those whose eyes are only open to its excesses; and though Catholics, for the greater part, if to-morrow Protestantism were attacked in any of its rights or privileges, to-morrow also would we rise up against the encroachments of Catholicism, with the same spirit and energy with which you rise up to-day against those of the church established. Permit me then to wish you, in the name of liberal France, a speedy and total emancipation. By perseverance in your present efforts you cannot fail to obtain it, and I cannot suppose that the admirable constitution of England will for ever allow itself to be dishonoured by the political helotism of six millions of subjects."

Such sentiments contain nothing but what is noble and generous. Expressed in the North of England, they would have been passed over as perfectly harmless, the *Courier* would have said nothing, and they would have been eulogised by the *Times*; but they were pronounced and eulogised in Ireland, and the moment that Ireland is in question, the English altogether lose their heads. Even when it becomes the subject of conversation amongst the more enlightened, they always speak of it in the pride of a conqueror in the *naïveté* and frankness of a master who goes back to the times of the Henrys and the Cromwells. In their eyes the claims

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in question are not *rights*, but *beans and favours*. They are high and puissant lords, feudal *Suzerains*, who graciously condescend to emancipate their serfs. It is really amusing to witness the tone of lofty indignation, with which they exclaim against whatever has the appearance of demand. "Pray," cry they, "beg—but do not threaten. Pray!—we are *Englishmen*, and full of magnanimity! See with what courtesy we treat the addresses of your brethren in England. It is true, indeed, that no portion of their petitions has yet been granted, whilst your insurrections appear to have procured for you some important rights; but if our gracious condescension has singled you out as the especial object of our favour, during the war in America, and the French revolution, and your own rebellion, be assured that chance, mere chance was the cause of this remarkable coincidence. With regard to the Catholics of England, we delay our favours, with a view only of rendering them more conspicuous. Pray, therefore, entreat, supplicate, and in due time—why, in due time,—we shall see." In the opinion of others, the Catholics are too numerous to be emancipated without the most imminent danger to the state. Instead of being seven to one as they now are, if they were only one to seven, the case would be entirely altered. In England, on the contrary, the opposite argument is put forward. The Papists there form a feeble minority, and it is universally admitted, that in every instance the minority should bow to the majority. Read over in addition to all this, the evidence taken in 1825 by the House of Commons. You will there find in several places that it is perfectly false,

that the question of emancipation agitates the country ; “ for, if the Catholic priests and gentry were only willing, they might without the least difficulty blot out all recollection or anxiety for the measure from the minds of the people.” Unfortunately, however, neither priests nor gentlemen are quite so complaisant. Instead of nobly enlogising the staff which strikes them, they have such little generosity in their composition as to declare that they are deeply sensible of its inflictions, and go so far as to exhibit to the public the very marks of the blows they have received. What incredible egotism ! and how well such men deserve the innumerable contumelies which the English press continually heaps upon them ! Their conduct recalls that animal of which a traveller has thus concluded the description : “ He is so furious, that he will defend himself if you attempt to kill him.”

At the head of these disloyal subjects, these criminal agitators, stands the Catholic Association, a numerous and powerful body, where all the friends of religious liberty are invited to take their seats. Its history is singular enough. Founded about five years ago, it had already acquired a formidable portion of political power, when last session parliament decided upon its suppression. It was alleged to be an *imperium in imperio*. Accordingly, Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, Lord Eldon and Mr. Plunkett, entered into a coalition against it ; and a bill, in fifteen long paragraphs, decreed its dissolution. Six months afterwards it reappeared. If the act of parliament annihilates it as a political association, what prevents it from reviving as an association for the promotion of education ? A clause in the bill formally

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prohibits them from levying money for the purpose of carrying on judicial proceedings; but a subscription to assist the poor cannot be considered as a violation of the law. In a word, if they cannot assemble for more than fourteen days in continuation, for the purpose of discussing and voting petitions to parliament, they can dissolve the meeting at the precise termination of these fourteen days, and the next week convene another. Of all these means to defeat the provisions of the bill, not one has been neglected; and the profound wisdom of parliament has produced no other result than the revival of the old Association; so difficult is it in England to attack the right of meeting and petition: a sacred right; an imprescriptible right; the best pledge and substitute for so many others. France has yet some lessons to take from her neighbours.

The Association holds its meetings in an oblong hall, surrounded with benches, and arranged nearly in the same manner as the House of Commons. The first time I entered it, I saw on his legs a man of about fifty years of age; who, with his hand in his bosom, seemed throwing out his opinion in a negligent manner to about three hundred persons, who were listening with the greatest attention around him. This man was O'Connell, *the glory of Kerry and the pride of Munster*. In his person he is tall; his appearance is imposing; his countenance full of frankness and keenness; though somewhat bordering on the vulgar; and when he speaks, his physiognomy, as changeable as his imagination, expresses, in two minutes, twenty different passions. There is no sort of study either in his gesture or lan-

guage. With him, one feels one's thoughts gradually spring upward, and develop of themselves; they seem to take, as he proceeds, if I may use the expression, the clothing of a tangible and visible form; and words, gesture, accent, all are produced at once, and by a single and simple effort of the will. If he threatens, his entire figure seems ready to follow the defiance, which he hurls against the power of England; if he indulges in a trait of humour, before it is yet upon his lips an expansive gaiety already radiates from all his features. I know of no living orator who communicates so thoroughly to his audience the idea of the most profound and absolute conviction. Between his eloquence and that of Sheil's there is not less difference than between their persons. The first, more classic, is all calculation; the second, more popular, is—inspired.

Sheil is a dramatic author. To him, a speech is a piece got up for mere display, meditated and prepared for many days before, and at length sent forth to the admiration of the public, much in the same way as if it were a tragedy. To O'Connell it is a conversation, sublime or familiar, according to the exigencies or feelings of the day. In preparing himself beforehand, the former can rouse the souls of his auditors without in any degree travelling beyond mere generalities. The latter requires some peculiar circumstance to impel him forward; some local or momentary interest to excite him. Sheil, in fine, is the brilliant man, the show man; O'Connell, the man of business of the Association. Though a lawyer in the first business in Dublin, he is always the first and the last at these meetings; he runs

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father on quitting the Four Courts, and if by chance he be delayed upon the way, no one thinks of taking his place. It is he who brings forward all motions, who directs the discussion, and who carries every question which he thinks proper to propose. When he rises, there is an immediate silence upon all sides; when he sits down, and has ceased speaking, the room resounds with peals of applause; and when he retires, the Association seems to retire also. What modesty, in the nature of things, could continue proof against the influence of such a situation?

O'Connell's has completely yielded to the temptation; and where his enemies can discover little more than a factious ambition, there is nothing after all but a little vanity. Popularity, an inordinate love of popularity, is his ruling passion: he is its absolute slave: if he were to lose it, he would instantly die. With the exception of an ardent attachment to his country, I do not think him in other particulars a man of very steady principles. He praises in the same breath Bolivar and the Holy Alliance, Napoleon and the Bishop of Hermopolis. James II. to-day appears to him a god, to-morrow a tyrant. He thunders against the Biblical societies, and raises to the skies the missionaries of France. He declares himself the champion of the sovereignty of the people; and, at the same time, of divine right. In a word, as has been justly observed, there are in him eight or nine different men, who are not always of the same opinion, but who combine together to curse the oppression of the penal laws, and to detest the oppressors of Ireland. The secret and real leaning,

however, of O'Connell's mind, I believe to be towards the ancient monarchy, with all its titles, and orders, and gewgaws of every description. When, in 1821, George IV. came to Dublin, the Irish patriot was a faithful dancer of attendance in the ante-chamber of the monarch; and that green riband, which, as chief of the order of the liberators, he continues to wear about his neck, notwithstanding the raillery of the entire country, is a sufficient evidence of the same weakness. Under certain points of view, O'Connell may be considered the Chateaubriand of Ireland. Like that great writer, he appears intoxicated with his own phrases. From constantly descanting on religion, he has at last become religious himself. In all his speeches you find traces of the man of the good old times. What always proves the subject of the greatest excitation, is the *Emerald Isle*, with its gothic towers, and still more gothic recollections. He weeps at the names of the great *Dublachtah, Flabhkertah, Bryan Boromhe*, magnanimous Princes, who, before the invasion of the English, constituted the happiness and glory of Ireland; and in our modern times, the only person who enjoys the privilege of affecting him, is the Catholic priest. Between such ideas and ours there is little or no coincidence; and yet, notwithstanding all this, I defy any man to hear O'Connell without experiencing the most profound emotion. Such is the astonishing power of an eloquence proceeding from the sources of true feeling. For some minutes it bears you away from yourself.

There is not in the ideas of O'Connell so much order as abundance; one would imagine that in their exer-

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tion to escape; and the disorder produced by this interior combat, he had not the power of mastering them. They are young recruits, as yet ill disciplined; but in return, what courage, what vigour, what impetuosity! Known personally to the Irish peasantry, and living with them a great portion of the year, he has something about him of their manners, their language, and even of their accent. You should see him with his cravat loose, and waistcoat unbuttoned, in a chapel in Munster. He boasts of the beauty of Ireland, the delights of her vallies, the levelness of her hills, and above all, of the incontestable superiority of her inhabitants above those of every other quarter of the globe: and if, by chance, he should in the slightest degree touch on "*the children of your bosom*," or "*the wives of your affection*," you instantly see tears of joy sparkle in every eye. He does not, however, pretend to know any thing beyond Ireland. He lends an eloquent voice to the sentiments, the passions, and even to the prejudices, of six millions of men. That is all. Hence his extreme popularity; hence, also, his numerous contradictions and inconsistencies. But his contradictions, if I may so speak, are national, his inconsistencies patriotic. Of what consequence is it to the people that he does not say the same things to them to day that he did yesterday, provided that they always hear what pleases them most? What the people want is emancipation: to obtain it he would go from heaven to hell: he would become a Tory or a radical, a loyalist or a rebel, without a suspicion for a moment that he had been changing sides. O'Connell is of the people. He is a glass in which Ireland may

see herself completely reflected; or, rather, he is Ireland himself. He has been compared to an inspired peasant. It may be so, but that peasant, if he wished it, might have a million of others at his back.

I intended to have spoken of the Association, and I have spoken only of O'Connell. There is some reason for this; it is because it lives in this extraordinary man altogether, and entire. Let us, however, cast a *coup d'œil* on a few others of its members. There is *Jack Lawless* at the end of the table. Friend of Cobbett, and head of the opposition, he always rises immediately after O'Connell, and seldom without attacking him. He is about fifty; and his countenance recalls that of the actor Lepeintre, though characterised by a greater degree of energy, and by features much more marked and decided. In his snarling and cavilling humour, he strikes without discernment, but sometimes he strikes home; and his bluntness and frankness have acquired him partisans. He is the greatest opponent of the *glory of Kerry*. At the side of Sheil I see *Mr. Wyse*, a man of *esprit*, good sense, and talent. For the loftiness of his views, the extent of his information, and the justice of his conceptions, he is far above all those who surround him; and one day, perhaps, his popularity will suffer in consequence. Near him is a person of a very different description, *Mr. Aeneas M'Donnell*, agent of the Catholics in London. With what transport is he applauded when he asserts that the Catholic religion has never persecuted! Gifted with a Herculean constitution, and lungs of iron, he has moreover declared himself the avowed enemy of

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the Bibles. He pursues them from county to county; harasses them from meeting to meeting; and compels them, in their own despite, to listen. At Ballinasloe, he spoke for eighteen hours in three days; and had he not been interrupted by the police, it is not unlikely he would have continued speaking to this very hour. He it was whom I heard exclaim on one occasion:—"They accuse Catholicity of being contrary to liberty. Contrary to liberty! the religion of Montesquieu, of Bossuet, of Richelieu, contrary to liberty! What an atrocious calumny!" You will not find such passages in the speeches of *Mr. Wyse*.

Having thus made myself acquainted with the orators, I was now prepared to follow the course of the discussion. But of what interest to us are the quarrels of *Mr. Bric*, or of *Mr. Lawless*; the invective or eulogy lavished on *Lord Wellesley*; the augmentation or diminution of the salary of *Mr. M'Donnell*? The Catholics lose too often a great deal too much of their time in these idle discussions, and the frequency of their meetings is the real cause. By repeating day after day the same things, men at last cease to feel them; and I am quite sure that *O'Connell*, from so constantly declaiming on the miseries of Ireland, is no longer susceptible of the same high excitement which he felt some two or three years ago. He rises to speak for the fourth time to-day. His speech is an absolute manifesto against England; an open declaration of war against the parliament of the united kingdoms. "In vain," cries he, "they enact their laws against us: these laws we will brave; and the Catholics of Ireland will never cease

their meetings until emancipation shall be fully granted them. We petitioned last year with the greatest humility for the restoration of our rights, the British senate; the British senate refused our prayer: this year we call for emancipation; full, total, entire, without condition or qualification whatsoever. We no longer supplicate: we demand. We are told that such are not the means by which we are to succeed; and I answer, such are the means; and there are no others. In the hour of prosperity England has constantly rejected with scorn our most dutiful supplications; in the hour of adversity only has she deigned to listen to our prayer. Let us hope, then; for she suffers:—let us hope; for bankruptcy is at her door:—let us hope; for she is humbled.” When slaves can express themselves thus, there are yet grounds for hope.

The Association is violently attacked, and at times with justice. Open to the whole world, existing only on the passions of the country, recruited from the bosom of a population for centuries in bondage, it cannot but contain within itself a large portion of ignorance, fickleness, and dishonesty. The leaders themselves are confined within too narrow a circle; you would almost say their ideas cannot extend beyond the limits of Ireland. Beyond it, they see nothing, they understand nothing; and instead of boldly associating themselves and their cause with all that is liberal in Europe, it too frequently happens that they speak exclusively as Catholics; and as Catholics, exclusively consider themselves aggrieved. To all these defects I am fully sensible, and yet I am of opinion that the Association is decidedly of advantage

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to the country! It rallies the friends of religious freedom: it keeps up in the people a due feeling of their rights; forces Catholicity to proclaim the principles of toleration; fatigues and alarms England; and rouses the lower classes from that degrading apathy, from which they have risen but once or twice in a century, to rush into acts of the most atrocious vengeance. In the month of November, the Catholic Association realised per day £50 sterling; and already more than one Orange landlord, who was prepared to eject in mass his unfortunate tenantry, has been obliged to draw back in alarm before it. In a word, it is a species of new parliament, which really represents, and is the organ of, seven millions of men; levies taxes, dictates ordinances, and sends whomever it thinks proper to the House of Commons. The spirit of the priesthood, I repeat it, has too much influence within its circle; but in face of a church, haughty, intolerant, and burning with the spirit of proselytism, it scarcely can be otherwise. The Biblicals are the missionaries of Ireland; and whilst the one are escorted by fifty soldiers to Brest, the others support, by the eloquent arguments of their bayonets, their pious predications at Ballinasloe. Unfortunately, in this rebellious age, the sword has not, in religious matters, all the influence which it ought, nor does it turn away a greater number from Catholicity at Ballinasloe than it brings back to its fold at Brest. From time to time, however, the Protestant papers are very vociferous on the subject of a few conversions, bought by weight of gold, or obtained through the agonies of hunger; but the moment the fever appears, the Catholic

priest is immediately recalled. One of these conversions was lately announced in the following terms:—
 “We feel a lively satisfaction in announcing that two Catholics have just abjured the errors of the church of Rome, to embrace those of the church established.”
 The clergy, it is said, were by no means disposed to smile at the blunder.

No. XVII.

CATHOLIC CENSUS.

I.—*Census Returns from the Diocese of*

	Parishes returned.	R. Catholics.	Not R. C.
Ardfert and Aghadse	15	103,745	2,249
Achonry . . .	2	10,780	101
Armagh . . .	10	47,695	26,395
Ardagh . . .	11	55,447	5,255
Clonfert . . .	4	22,582	1,120
Clogher . . .	7	42,424	16,184
Cork . . .	8	54,726	6,873*
Cashel . . .	23	119,519	4,388
Cloyne . . .	36	147,996	6,556
Dromore . . .	3	11,051	5498
Down (Aughagallow)	1	2,319	2,478
Dublin . . .	6	31,914	7,174†
Derry . . .	8	40,901	18,894
Elphin . . .	25	169,514	10,483

* The city not included, nor any principal town except Bandon.

† Only one parish of the city included, Michael and John's.

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	Parishes returned.	R. Catholics.	Not R. C.
Ferns	5	28,723	3,487
Galway	2	5,991	140
Kildare and Loughlin	14	98,206	12,078
Kilmacduagh and Kil-			
fenora	4	14,854	69
Killaloe	11	69,606	3,732
Kilmore	5	32,384	10,520
Killala	1	2,638	12
Limerick	3	20,246	1,040*
Meath	27	117,090	8,325
Ossory	20	123,770	5,842†
Tuam	11	57,995	1,153
Waterford	37	233,553	10,102
		<hr/> 1,665,669	<hr/> 170,152
of Limerick 1		4,913	420
	<hr/> 300	<hr/> 1,670,582	<hr/> 170,572

II.—Details of the Census of the united Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore.

County of Waterford	131,353	2,996
City of Waterford, and Liberties		
south of the Suir	28,250	4,121
County of Tipperary	71,829	3,025
County of Cork	386	7
Total Population of the Dio-	<hr/>	<hr/>
cese	231,818	10,151

* This includes but one parish of the city.

† Including but one parish of the city of Kilkenny.

	R. Catholics.	Not R. C.
Adding to the county and city as above	159,603	7,117
One townland of the county Waterford, not included in the united dioceses	303	5
The total population of the county and city is	159,906	7,122
Being in the proportion of more than <i>twenty-two</i> Ca- tholics to every <i>one</i> of other persuasions.		

III.—*Comparison of the number of Catholics and Pro-
testants in England in the time of William III.*
See Memoirs of Sir James Dalrymple, vol. ii. Ap-
pendix, part ii. p. 12.

NUMBER OF FREEHOLDERS IN ENGLAND.

	Conformists.	Non-Conf.	Papists.
Province of Canterbury	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
York	353,892	15,525	1,978
	2,477,254	108,676	13,858
Conformists	2,477,255		
Non-Conformists	108,676		
Papists	13,856		
	2,599,786		

Proportion of Conformists to Non-

Conformists $22\frac{4}{5}$ to 1

Conformists to Papists $178\frac{1}{5}$

Conformists and Non-Conformists

to Papists 186

In the Province of Canterbury there were 23,740

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Papists: Thus divided:—

Under 16 . . .	11,870
Aged above 60 . .	3,391
Women . . .	4,239
Men fit to bear arms	4,239

**In the Province of York there were 3,956 Papists.
Thus divided:—**

Under the age of 16	1,978
Aged above 60 . .	565
Women . . .	701
Men fit to bear arms	701

Total of Papists in England . . . 27,696

Men fit to bear arms . . . 4,940

From the schedule of the same document it appears that in the diocese of Worcester, where the disproportion is the least, the Papists are to the Protestants as 1 to 52 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In that of Litchfield and Coventry as 1 to 79 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In that of London as . . . 1 to 127 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In that of Ely as . . . 1 to 2208 $\frac{1}{2}$.

These returns are taken from an official return found in the iron chest of King William. They do not furnish a very strong justification of the coercive measures adopted during his reign.

The British Catholics scattered in England, Scotland, and Wales, now amount to about 1,000,000, though some returns make them much lower. The counties in England containing the greatest number of Catholics are, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Cheshire, Northumberland, Durham, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. The Catholic population of the

metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood has been estimated at about 200,000.

IV.—CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS SECTS.

1. CHRISTIANS.

Roman Catholics	100,000,000
Greek and Eastern churches	36,000,000
Protestant, Lutheran, and Calvinistic churches	50,000,000

2. JEWS.

Baumege states the Jews at about	3,000,000
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3. MAHOMEDANS.

Of the various tribes of persons following the doctrine of Islamism, about	143,000,000
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4. HINDOOS AND OTHER PAGANS	468,000,000
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Total	800,000,000
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In England, Ireland, and Wales, the number of religionists of various sects and denominations may be estimated nearly as follow :—

1. Church of England *	5,000,000
2. Roman Catholics †	5,400,000
3. Presbyterians, who are (in England) chiefly Unitarians, Arians, and General Baptists	60,000

* The number of livings in England and Wales is above 10,500.

† In England and Wales there are about 300,000, of whom 5000 are in London. There are upwards of 900 Catholic churches and chapels in England.

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4. Quakers and Moravians	60,000
5. Wesleyan Methodists *	500,000
6. Baptists, of various kinds, exclusive of General Baptists	60,000
7. Independents, including the Whit- fieldians and other Calvinistic Me- thodists	110,000
8. Swedenborgians	20,000
9. Miscellaneous minor sects	15,000
10. Resident Jews	15,000
11. Deists, Theophilanthropists, and other Freethinkers	25,000

V. 1. — PROTESTANTS UNDER CATHOLIC PRINCES IN AUSTRIA

In the country below the Ems	4,800
Above the Ems	24,700
In Styria	2,500
In Illyria	17,000
In Bohemia	50,000
In Moravia	68,000
Total in Austria	166,500
In Bavaria	1,100,000
In Saxony	1,420,000
In Anhalt Coethen	34,000

In all 2,720,500 ¹⁰

In the two principalities of Hohenzollern, and in that
of Lichtenstein, there are very few Protestants.

* The Wesleyan Methodists, "all over the world," exclusive of the
new connexion, and some others, amounted in 1820 to nearly 486,000.

2.—CATHOLICS UNDER PROTESTANT PRINCES.

In Prussia	.	.	.	3,250,000
Hanover	.	.	.	250,000
Wurtemberg	.	.	.	470,000
Baden	.	.	.	800,000
Hesse Cassel	.	.	.	106,000
Hesse Darmstadt	.	.	.	165,000
Holstein-Lauenburg	.	.	.	1,000
Luxemburg	.	.	.	285,000
Saxe-Weimar Eisenach	.	.	.	10,000
Saxe-Meiningen	.	.	.	300
Saxe-Altenburg	.	.	.	100
Saxe-Coburg Gotha	.	.	.	200
Brunswick	.	.	.	2,500
Mecklenburg Schwerin	.	.	.	1,000
Mecklenburg Strelitz	.	.	.	60
Oldenburg	.	.	.	75,000
Nassau	.	.	.	150,000
Anbalt Dessian and Bunburg	.	.	.	100
Hesse Homburg	.	.	.	5,000
Frankfort	.	.	.	6,000
Hamburg	.	.	.	5,000
Total	.	.	.	5,580,200

In the dominions of the two houses of Schwartzburg, of the Princes of Reuss Lippe, Delmold, and Schaumburg Weldeck, and in Bremen and Lubeck, there are very few Catholics.

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No. XIX.

IRISH EDUCATION.

Ireland is said at an early period, to have been the centre of the education of Europe. Bede, William of Malmsbury, Camden, &c. bear ample testimony to her intellectual superiority. Her scholars were known and celebrated over the continent. The Universities of Paris, Pavia, Oxford, Cambridge, &c. are said to have been founded by Irishmen. The University of Dublin, which is generally ascribed to Elizabeth, was commenced by Joannes Leclurs, under the auspices of Clement, and afterwards completed by Alexander Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1329, with the approbation of Pope John XXII. But the convent and College of Mayo enjoyed a much higher degree of reputation. It was founded about 665, and was exclusively dedicated to the education of strangers. Though in a remote part of Ireland, it contained at one time no less than two thousand English, foreign monks, and students. The son of Alfred is reckoned amongst the number. His ashes are said to repose amongst its ruins.

At the Reformation, no less than one thousand literary institutions, connected in general with monastic establishments, were destroyed. But instruction was not quite extinguished. This achievement was reserved for the penal laws.

What had not been effected by the confiscations of

James, the faithlessness of Charles I., the ingratitude of Charles II., with the uninterrupted civil wars which their tyranny and misrule had brought in their train, was finally accomplished by the anti-education code which immediately followed the conquest of William of Nassau.

The 7th of William and Mary, c. 4., enacted that, "no person of the Popish religion should publicly teach a school under a penalty of 20*l.*, and three months imprisonment. The child who went abroad for education, forfeited all the goods, chattels, and lands, to which he might become entitled by inheritance. The father who sent him, incurred the same forfeiture."

In 1730, Primate Boulter suggested the system of Charter schools: the objects had in view are best explained in his own words. "I can assure you," says he, "the Papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us, in point of interest, as well as *out of concern for the salvation of these poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the knowledge of the true religion*; and one of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to Popery."—Yet the Penal code had now endured for fifty years.

The system sketched by Boulter was filled up in 1734. The anti-Catholic schools started into existence. A Baron Vryhouven bestowed upon them 56,000*l.*; an anonymous benefactor gave them 40,000*l.*; certain estates

were bequeathed to them by the Earl of Ranelagh ; and they got bequests from many other persons. They received also in addition to these funds, in Parliamentary grants, upwards of one million ; and their total expenditure in ninety years, is stated by the Commissioners of education themselves, in their late report, to have exceeded 1,600,000/. !

The benefits resulting from these institutions were by no means commensurate with the enormous expenses which they entailed. From the very outset they were scenes of the most shocking enormities ; yet, though chancellors, bishops, and judges successively acted as their governors, no inquiries seem to have taken place into the existence of these abuses, until the year 1787. In that year, in consequence of the urgent representations of the benevolent Howard, a Committee of investigation was appointed by the Irish House of Commons. The result of this inquiry was important. It was ascertained, that in the whole of these establishments, instead of 2,100 children, the number stated by the society to be maintained, not more than 1,400 could actually be produced. Mr. Howard was examined by the committee, and he stated among other things, that many of the schools were much out of repair, and going to ruin : that the children were neither well clothed, well fed, nor well taught ; that some of them that were at Santry school, and who had previously been six years at that of Bally Castle, could not read ; and that what he called " the dreadful situation of the schools," prevented their being filled. " The children in general," he stated, were sickly, pale, and such miserable objects, that they

were a disgrace to all society, and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for their master." In addition to several other witnesses, the committee examined Sir Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, Inspector-General of Prisons, who, in the years 1786 and 1787, had visited twenty-eight Charter schools. He stated, that the barbarous treatment which he had witnessed of some children in the school at Kilkenny, was one of his first and principal inducements to persevere in the inspection of the other Charter schools; that he found the children in them puny, and not in that state of health, in which children generally are; they were in general filthy, and ill clothed. He has seen them without shifts or shirts, and in such a situation as it was indecent to look on; the diet was insufficient for the support of their delicate frames; their instruction was very much neglected; in general the children had the itch, and other eruptive disorders. At Castle Carbery, there was no appearance of a school-room: part of a window was stuffed with a turf-kish and dung, and there were but twenty-four ragged shirts and shifts, though there were eighteen girls and fourteen boys, most of them sickly, wretched-looking creatures, covered with the itch; two only could read, and all order appeared to have been neglected; but the master's and mistress's apartments were comfortable and well furnished, as likewise the parlour which served for a committee-room. All these disclosures were made, yet no attempt to correct the abuses or to punish the cruelties, down to the very period of the late visitation, appears to have occurred.

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• Some time subsequent to this investigation of the committee of the House of Commons, a Rev. Dr. Beaufort, and a Mr. Corneille, a saintly barrister, were sent on a tour of inspection. They made their report a few years back, and though it was quite notorious, that grievous atrocities had not in the slightest degree abated, their report proves that they were either incapable or unwilling, to find out as much as was easily discovered nearly forty years ago by the benevolent exertions of Howard. They met only with the traces and footsteps of perfection itself. Some schools were good; others were better than good; none were bad; none were indifferent; none demanded reformation or rebuke. The Commissioners of education have instanced the report, and placed it in juxtaposition with their own inquiries.

The office of visitor, &c. &c. was now found so ineffectual, that they were at length finally discontinued. In their place was substituted another mode of communication. Catechists were appointed, clergymen of the church of England, with a salary of 20*l.* and a gratuity of 2*l.* 10*s.* per quarter, which the committee of fifteen were authorised to grant to every catechist who should comply with the society's regulations. They were obliged to furnish monthly reports for the use of the committee on the state of schools, &c. immediately under their care. The following extract from the examination of the secretary of the society, taken the 30th of October 1824, will show how much of this duty was performed or neglected, while at the same time we learn from the same officer, that he is not aware of an instance in

which a part of the salary of a catechist has been withheld during the last fifteen or twenty years.

“ Q. If the rules of the society were observed, is it not the fact that each catechist would monthly have reported upon his own school ?

A. Yes.

Q. There are about thirty schools belonging to the society ?

A. Yes.

Q. It would follow, that about two hundred and seventy monthly reports at least ought ere now to have been made ; of these two hundred and seventy, how many have been made, as nearly as you can answer ?

A. There is a small proportion, I cannot tell how many.

Q. Have ten been received ?

A. From the 1st of January to the 1st of October, there ought to have been *nine* letters from each catechist, that would be two hundred and seventy letters.

Q. How many of these two hundred and seventy have you received ?

A. *I declare I do not think there are fifty.*

Q. Do you believe that as many as ten, out of these two hundred and seventy regular monthly reports, have been received by you ?

A. *Upon my word I doubt it.*

Q. Can you recollect any one instance, in which a catechist has made one of his monthly returns since the 1st of last January ?

A. *I do not think there is.”*

From such inquirers and reporters little information

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and little anxiety for reform were to be expected. Accordingly years elapsed, before the public seemed to have been sufficiently convinced of the iniquities of these establishments. The general habits of discussion generated by the great political question, which more or less embraced every other, at length turned the attention of the government to the nuisance, and a commission was appointed for the purpose of making the most minute inquiry into the evils and infamies with which these schools were charged, by the almost unanimous voice of the country, with a view to their immediate and radical correction.

The innumerable delinquencies and abuses, which the Commissioners detected, soon justified every particular of these accusations. During the course of the examination, every atrocity and cruelty, every violation of the public trust, every corrupt perversion of the public benevolence, were successively displayed in their true colours. The report leaves us at a loss, whether most to express our horror at the systematic plan of bigotry and cruelty upon which these schools were conducted, or at the profligate expenditure of the public money to which they owe their support, and of which no less a sum than 1,600,000*l.* was spent in the course of ninety-three years upon the education of twelve thousand children, being less than a fourth part of the number educated every year by the Catholic clergy,* with infinitely

" " " " and no

* It is stated in the evidence before the House, that a priest in the parish of Lewisburg in the county of Sligo, established no less than thirteen schools, with little other assistance than what he derived from his own exertions. This fact is by no means solitary. There are many similar instances to be found in various parts of Ireland.

less than one twentieth part of the means. Fraud and inhumanity mix up in every detail. Instead of teaching the orphans committed by the nation to their charge, these barbarous educators of youth had literally made them their beasts of burden. They thus got an interest in prolonging their period of bondage. Every part of the report abounds with evidences of these facts. We find that "David Porter" had in twelve months added only half a year to his age. The same happened to "James M'Kenzie." M'Gann remained fifteen all the year round, or rather was younger in 1823 than in the year preceding. This is farce, but we now come to tragedy. The Sligo school was visited by two of the Commissioners. It appeared on an attentive examination, that the master was a man of violent and ungoverned passions, and that the boys were most severely and cruelly punished, not only by him personally, but also by his son and by a foreman in the weaving department, and that these punishments were inflicted for very slight faults. At the Castle Dermot school, two boys had been very severely punished by the master. They stated that they had been set to work in the garden, and having had but little breakfast they were hungry, and had eaten a raw cabbage; that the master, who appeared to be a man of violent passions, caught them, and flogged them for this offence severely; that one of them received sixteen stripes in the usual manner, and six blows with a stick on the head, which continued cut and bruised when the school was visited by the Commissioners. The other boy had eloped in consequence of the beating. The boys stated, "that the Usher beats the boys oftenest, but the

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master the most severely: the usher for offences in the school-room, the master for other offences." At Stradbally school, eight boys had been beaten so severely, that when the Commissioners saw them, they were in a shocking state of laceration and contusion. The offence with which these boys were charged by the usher was, "looking at two policemen playing at ball, in the boys alley;" but the catechist states, "that he believes the usher may have been actuated in the punishment by his feelings, as to what the boys may have said of him on the former visit of the Commissioners." Such was the nature of the discipline—their acquirements were strictly in harmony. "On examining the boys," say the Commissioners, "they were found able to repeat the catechism and the expositions of it correctly, but attached little or no meaning to the words they repeated. The two head classes consisted of twenty boys, of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age: seventeen of them declared they had never heard of St. Paul, and half of them had no idea, whether the word "Europe" meant a man, a place, or a thing; and only three boys in the school could name the four quarters of the world. Two boys only appeared ever to have heard of Job; and only one could give any account of his history! But it was not gross ignorance only which was encouraged. The consequences were not merely indifferent, they were flagrantly and extensively pernicious. From the correspondence and examination of an individual who was candidate for a situation in the Santry school, the most curious facts were elicited. Firstly, it was declared, that the chief efforts of every teacher are di-

rected, to impress upon the mind of the children from the earliest dawn of reason, the most absolute *hatred* of Popery. Secondly, that though this be the case, they still discover a marvellous partiality to the obnoxious creed, and many are found to abandon the creed of their infancy before they reach the age of *ten*: and thirdly, that, instead of producing a veneration for the word of God, the plan pursued in these notable seminaries, produces consequences precisely the reverse. The causes are obvious: one of these teachers stated on oath, that the learners are obliged to get portions of the Bible by heart; that they are most severely beaten for failing to commit these portions to memory; that the sacred word is in this manner perverted into an additional instrument of torture, and consequently the children are found generally to leave the school, with as cordial abhorrence of the Holy Scriptures, as of "the errors of the church of Rome itself." Thus this beneficent scheme of education, which was pompously stated by its most reverend author to be a plan the best of all others calculated to ensure "the salvation of those poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects," has been proved on the most incontestable evidence, to have produced mere hotbeds of bigotry, engendered by proselytism, and kept alive by the bad passions of the community; establishments known only to the country, by the enormous sums they receive from it in the shape of Parliamentary grants; infamous nurseries of ignorance and political rancour; where the child was separated from the parent by fraud or by force, and submitted to a course of cruelty and demoralization, which makes the blood freeze, and raises

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a blush upon the cheek of every honourable man. Instead of being fit objects of the support of the legislature, they were only worthy of the animadversion and severity of the Attorney General. Under another government, they would have long since been visited with the outstretched arm of the law, as they have already been fully branded with the execration of every thinking and honest man in the community.

Such was the course of education provided for the wants of the Catholic peasantry of Ireland, in substitution for that of which they had been violently robbed by the legislation of the preceding century. No wonder, that from such a tree fruits of bitterness and evil, fruits of religious rancour, fruits of civil dissension, should alone have been plucked by the ill-fated generations who succeeded. Accordingly few sources of domestic hostility have been so prolific, few means have been so dangerously successful, in keeping alive the hates and inequalities, which have so long been the curse of Ireland. With such teachers, they made in after life, civil contention the first of civil duties, substituted sectarianism for religion, a faction for the country, and abused those faculties which might have been of service, even in the lowest sphere, in rescuing her from her calamities, in adding new poignancy to the malady, and rendering every day more and more difficult her cure.

The schools of the Society for discountenancing Vice, of the trustees for Erasmus Smith Fund, of the London Hibernian Society, &c. were intended to be substituted for the deficiencies, or auxiliary to the labours, of the Charter schools of Ireland; but previous to the year

1811. They seem comparatively to have done nothing. The fourteenth report of the commissioners of education gives some details which will go to show a very considerable increase both of schools and scholars since that period. In 1811 the commissioners state, that the gross number of schools throughout Ireland, amounted to about 4600, attended by about 200,000 children, and that an increase had taken place, from that year to the year 1824, the date of the report, of 7223 schools, and 360,000 scholars. The details of this comparison will place the fact in a still stronger point of view :

	In 1811	In 1824
Association for discounte-		
nancing Vice had . . .	38 schools .	226
Trustees of Erasmus		
Smith had . . .	8 do. .	113
London Hibernian		
Society . . .	38 do. .	618
Kildare Place Society	did not exist .	919
Sunday School Society	44 . .	1,640

This may appear a very flattering portrait of the rapid improvement in the diffusion of education, principally among the poorer classes, during so short a period as thirteen years ; but in 1826, the Commissioners of education, after a very attentive examination, recommended the withdrawing of the grants from these very societies, that is, from the Society for discounte-nancing Vice, and from the Lord Lieutenant's fund, &c. The London Hibernian Society, by the confession of many of its own members, Messrs. Pringle,

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Gordon, &c. was convicted of employing education merely as an instrument of proselytism; and the Kildare Place Society, which had set out with such large professions of liberalism, was demonstrated to have acted in a manner very inconsistent with the avowed objects of its institution, and to have been totally inadequate to the purposes for which it originally had been set up. The zeal with which the Catholics (and the priesthood not less than the laity) had offered their co-operation at the outset, was totally misconstrued, and finally abused. The Bible was introduced, without note or comment, contrary to the preliminary understanding between both parties, and the consequences were such as might have been apprehended, a total disruption of the amicable relations which previously subsisted, and a want of confidence and cordiality, without which, in a country so divided as Ireland, it is quite evident every plan of national education must utterly fail.* These views very strongly impressed themselves upon the Com-

* The late Primate of all Ireland (Dr. Stuart), the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Magee), Dr. Jebb, Dr. Mont, and many others of the most learned prelates in either persuasion, have stated it as their opinion, that note and comment are absolutely essential to the right understanding of the sacred volume. The following table, though by no means offered as a proof that an indiscriminate reading of the Bible encourages crime, is sufficient evidence that it has not done very much to prevent it.

In the seven years preceding the exertions made for the diffusion of the Bible, the committals of Eng- land and Wales amounted to		47,549
Out of which there were capital convictions		4,126
In the seven succeeding years in the same, committals		93,282
convictions		8,244

missioners, and as the result of much patient and impartial research into the deficiencies and vices of preceding and existing systems, they ventured to suggest with a view to their correction, and with due reference to the existing state of the country, such a system of national education for the lower classes, in lieu of all those actually in use, as might embrace both moral and religious instruction, and at the same time sufficiently respect the several prejudices of all classes in the community. They proposed a united system of education, where the children of all religious persuasions might be educated together, from which if possible all suspicion should be banished, and every ground of political or religious distrust should be as much as possible removed. Under such a system, it was to be hoped that the children would gradually imbibe similar ideas and form congenial habits, and would gradually lose that distinctness of feeling and separation of interests, which had been found by experience to have been one of the fertile principles of the miseries of Ireland, and the chief cause of the divisions and animosities of her children. The Catholic prelacy evinced on the occasion a becoming anxiety to meet the proposition half way; and in their synod held at Dublin January 21, 1826, they came unanimously to the following important resolutions.

These resolutions were subsequently transmitted, January 23d, by Dr. Murray to Lord Killeen, for the purpose of being laid before the Catholic Association, and met on their being presented their unanimous approbation.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, held in Dublin on the 21st January 1826, the following resolutions on the subject of National Education were unanimously adopted:—

1. That the admission of Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same schools, for the purpose of literary instruction, may, under existing circumstances, be allowed, provided sufficient care be taken to protect the religion of the Roman Catholic children, and to furnish them with adequate means of religious instruction.

2. That in order to secure sufficient protection to the religion of the Roman Catholic children, under such a system of education, we deem it necessary, that the master of each school in which the majority of the pupils profess the Roman Catholic faith, be a Roman Catholic; and that, in schools in which the Roman Catholic children form only a minority, a permanent Roman Catholic assistant be employed; and that such master and assistant be appointed upon the recommendation or with the express approval of the Roman Catholic bishops of the diocese in which they are to be employed; and further, that they or either of them be removed, upon the representation of such bishops: the same rule to be observed for the appointment or dismissal of mistresses and assistants in female schools.

3. That we consider it improper that masters and mistresses intended for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic youth, should be trained or educated by or under the control of persons professing a different faith; and that we conceive it most desirable, that a male and female model school shall be established in each province in Ireland, to be supported at the public expense, for the purpose of qualifying such masters and mistresses for the important duties which they shall be appointed to discharge.

4. That in conformity with the principle of protecting the religion of Roman Catholic children, the books intended for their particular instruction in religion shall be selected or approved by the Roman Catholic prelates; and that no book or tract of common instruction in literature shall be introduced into any school in which Roman Catholic children are educated, which book or tract may be objected to, on religious grounds, by the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese in which such school is established.

5. That a transfer of the property in several schools which now exist or may hereafter exist in Ireland, may be utterly impracticable from the nature of the tenure by which they are or may hereafter be held, and from the number of persons having a legal interest in them, as well as from a variety of other causes; and that, in our opinion, any regulation which should require such transfer to be made, as a necessary condition for receiving parliamentary support, would operate to the exclusion of many useful schools from all participation in the public bounty.

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6. That appointed as we have been by Divine Providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic faith in Ireland, and responsible as we are to God for the souls of our flocks, we will, in our respective dioceses, withhold our concurrence and support from any system of education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

Patrick Curtis, D. D.	Ian Murray, D. D.
Oliver Kelly, D. D.	Job. Laffen, D. D.
F. O'Reilly, D. D.	J. O'Shaughnessy, D. D.
P. M'Loughlin, D. D.	Thos. Costello, D. D.
J. Magauran, D. D.	K. Marum, D. D.
G. T. Plunkett, D. D.	P. Waldron, D. D.
James Keating, D. D.	John Murphy, D. D.
Chas. Tuohy, D. D.	James Doyle, D. D.
Edw. Kiernan, D. D.	P. M'Nicholas, D. D.
Patrick Kelly, D. D.	P. M'Gettigan, D. D.
Conan Egan, D. D.	Edm. French, D. D.
Wm. Crolly, D. D.	Thomas Coen, D. D.
Pat. Maguire, D. D.	Robert Logan, D. D.
P. M'Mahon, D. D.	Pat. Burke, D. D.
John M'Hale, D. D.	John Ryan, D. D.

These dispositions were, however, but very partially realised. The code still neutralised every effort at national improvement. The public mind, absorbed by the one thought, gave little or no attention to these projects. Reasonable men admitted, that if emancipation were passed, every improvement would rapidly and naturally follow; if not, every improvement would be

useless. Education was in a great measure left to itself, and progressed but slowly. The smallest town in Italy evinced a much higher state of intellectual cultivation than the largest in Ireland.* Every thing was politics, and politics was every thing. Yet the impulse which the peasantry had received unquestionably augmented. Their known passion for instruction increased; numerous small schools, aided in part by the Association, began to appear, and at last a model school, under the patronage of the Catholic prelacy, and to which 500*l.* was contributed by public vote from the Rent, was founded in Dublin, for the purpose of providing well-disciplined instructors, and giving a regular and systematic form to Catholic education throughout the kingdom. It is to

* In a small town in the Papal states, containing not more than ten thousand inhabitants, I found three well provided libraries open every day to the public; lectures in surgery and physic at the hospitals, &c. twice a week; lectures in logic, mathematics, astronomy, &c. thrice—both *gratis*. An academy for the encouragement of the sciences, literature, and antiquities of the country, of which almost every gentleman was member, and which held its sittings once a month. A museum of the natural history and mineralogy of the district, another of the antiquities; a small botanical garden; two theatres; besides a small private theatrical company of amateurs composed of the gentry of the town, and many of whom were artists of real merit, performing in rotation Goldoni's comedies, Alfieri's tragedies, and some of the best operas of Cimarosa, Rossini, Pacini, &c. The "Commune" supported several public schools, and maintained an artist at Rome, at their own expense, *in perpetuum*. This, it must be remembered, was in the Patrimonio, that is, in one of the least intellectual parts of Italy, and is rather below than above the general scale of education, even in that district. Compare it, such as it is, with the state of education at Cork, Limerick, &c. and then panegyrise the wisdom of our ancestors, and the blessings of an ascendancy code, which has placed us where we are.

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be hoped in the present ameliorated state of things, this laudable effort will attract the attention of the legislature and the country, and the great work of national education be taken up in the spirit in which it ought, not with a view of widening but of closing the breaches which hitherto have existed between man and man, of providing good members for society, free citizens for our constitution, and steady and enlightened supporters of those several institutions, in which mainly consist the glory and the power of every civilised community. The portion of Rent still in hands, collected as it was from the peasant, in a great degree for the purpose of providing him with useful, religious, and literary instruction, ought, without fail or further delay, to be employed for the peasant's use and benefit. Agricultural schools in the several districts, where such institutions are most practicable and most required, should be founded. The people should be encouraged to better their condition, by con-
terring on them the knowledge of the means by which their condition may be bettered. New links should be formed between the different orders of the state; the relations which a long series of unwise measures and cruel laws have burst and kept asunder, should be restored; the national intellect, waste but fertile, should be brought into cultivation, and another people, truly such, and not as they hitherto have been, too frequently a populace, should be raised up, out of the wrecks and lees of the past. England owes us this atonement for her former misrule and spoliation: she it was who made us and kept us ignorant. At her door is to be laid our barbarism, and all that our barbarism has entailed upon

us. A better order of things has begun; let her nobly aim at its consummation. Power is crime, unless it be productive of blessing, and the most brilliant tyranny which ever dazzled and crushed man, is not to be compared to the patient enduring of happiness out of misery, health out of malady, knowledge out of ignorance, and morning out of night. Such trophies endure; they are well won. She will find in the Irish mind, when *fairly* dealt with, an enthusiastic and generous co-operator.* But this *fairness* Ireland must have; with it she may do every thing; without it—nothing.

No. XX.

STATE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
CLERGY IN IRELAND.

The Roman Catholic church of Ireland is composed of four Archbishops and twenty-two Bishops. The

* Even with all drawbacks, education of the lower classes is farther advanced than in France. At a recent meeting in Paris for the encouragement of elementary education, the secretary read a paper with the following particulars:—

Children to whom desirable to communicate instruction,

Boys	.	.	.	2,750,000	}	5,500,000.
Girls	.	.	.	do.		

Communes 39,381, in which there are 27,000 schools, educating

Boys	.	.	.	1,070,000
Girls	.	.	.	430,000
To be educated	.	.	.	4,000,000

Ireland educates indiscriminately above half a million.

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archbishops take their titles,* as in the established church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Of the bishops eight are suffragans of Armagh, and are those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath, and Raphoe. Dublin has but three suffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory. Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick and Waterford, and Lismore. Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Athenry, Clonfert, Elphin, and Killaloe. There are besides these the bishops of the united dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora; the one in Connaught, the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

As in the established church, we also have a dignitary in Galway called a *Warden*, who has nearly an episcopal jurisdiction, and is no further subject to higher powers than that he is liable to a triennial visitation of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Every bishop has a vicar-general of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante bene placito*, and whose jurisdiction ceases on the death of the prelate.

Every diocese has also a Dean appointed by the *Cardinal Protector*, i. e. that Cardinal in Rome who has the peculiar direction of all ecclesiastical matters appertaining to Ireland, and also an Archdeacon, named by the Bishop. These two are men of nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

* I speak of the period antecedent to the passing of the Catholic Relief bill.

On the death of a Bishop, the clergy of a diocese are empowered by the canon to elect a *Vicar Capitular*, who is invested during the vacancy of the see with episcopal jurisdiction; but if such election does not take place within a specified number of days after the demise of the bishop has been notified to them, the Archbishop of the province may appoint of his own authority the vicar.

The clergy in the mean time assemble and fix their choice on one of their own body, or sometimes on a stranger, and petition the Pope, or in technical language, postulate that he may be appointed to the vacant see. The bishops also of the province consult each other, and unite in presenting to the Pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is usually appointed; for the recommendation of the prelates has always more weight in Rome, than the postulations of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Irish bishops lies in the cardinals, who compose the congregations *de propagandâ fide*. It takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday is submitted by their secretary to the Pope, who may confirm or annul the nomination at will; it very rarely however happens that he does not confirm it.

There is a custom common in all Roman Catholic countries, and frequently practised in Ireland, which I believe is not known in the established church, that of appointing assistant or coadjutor bishops. In the event of old age, infirmity, or any accidental visitations of Heaven, whereby a bishop is rendered incapable of attending to the laborious duties of his station, he may choose any meritorious clergyman to be his coadjutor,

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and to succeed him at his death. His recommendation is almost invariably attended to in Rome, the object of his choice is appointed and consecrated, taking his title from some oriental diocese, which title he relinquishes on his succeeding at the death of the old and infirm bishop whom he was appointed to assist. While retaining the oriental title, though in character and by consecration a bishop, he is called a bishop *in partibus*, because the see, from which he takes his designation, being under the dominion of some eastern power, is styled, in the language of the office from which the bull of the appointment is issued, to be *in partibus infidelium*.

The emoluments of the bishop arise from three sources, which are usually, the best parish in the diocese, the licenses, and the *cathedraticum*.

The license is, a dispensation granted by the bishop in the publication of banns, for which a sum not less than a crown, and according to the means of the parties, sometimes half a guinea or a guinea is paid. And as it very seldom happens that the parties are inclined to have the banns published, the generality are married by license.

The *cathedraticum* is, a yearly sum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each parish priest to the bishop, in proportion to the value of his parish, for the purpose of supporting the episcopal dignity. There is no law to enforce this tribute, nor any obligation to pay it, yet it is a very ancient practice, and is never omitted.

Parish priests are appointed solely by the bishop, and if collated, or having three years peaceable possession, they cannot be dispossessed, otherwise they may

be removed at pleasure. A collation, is a written appointment signed by the bishop, by which he confers a parish on a clergyman, and confides it indefinitely to his care.

Coadjutors or curates are also appointed by the bishop, and are movable at will.

The parish priest is supported by voluntary contributions, if that can be called voluntary which is established by ancient custom and general prevalence. His income springs from various sources; from Easter and Christmas dues. These consist in a certain sum paid by the head of every family to the parish priest for his support, and in consideration of his trouble in catechising, instructing, and hearing the confessions of his family. The sum is greater or smaller in proportion to the circumstances of the parishioners. In the country parishes, it is generally a shilling at Easter, and a shilling at Christmas. Some give half-a-crown, some a crown, and some few a guinea a year. There is no general ecclesiastical law to enforce the payment of these trifles; but as the mode was struck out, in what has been denominated the council of Kilkenny, under Rennucini, it has continued ever since to be practised, and from custom has acquired the force of law.

Weddings. The sum to be paid at these is different in different dioceses. The usual sum given by the bridegroom is a guinea; in addition to which, a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties who have been invited, for the benefit of the parish priest.

The consideration made to the clergyman for saying

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mass at the house of a parishioner, varies in different dioceses.

The general stipend of the curate is the third part of the general receipts of the parish. But in some instances, such as when the parish priest is old, infirm, or unacquainted with Irish, and consequently incapable of lessening in any great degree the labour of the curate, the latter frequently receives half of the parochial emoluments.

Stations, are meetings at some commodious house appointed by the priest for the convenience of such people as live at a distance from the chapel, where he hears their confessions, gives the communion, catechises the children, &c.; and it is at their half-yearly meetings that he receives his Easter or Christmas dues.

The parochial fee for each christening is two shillings or half-a-crown, besides which the sponsors usually give something more. Some trifle is generally given for visiting the sick; a shilling usually in the country.

In some parts of the country, custom has established that a certain quantity of hay and oats is sent by the more opulent parishioners to the clergyman; that his turf should be cut, his corn reaped, his meadow mowed, &c. gratis; and I have heard it more than once stated, that in some parts of Ireland, bordering on the sea-coast, a certain quantity of fish is given to the priest, in lieu of parochial dues.

No. XXI.

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

I.—*Constituency of Ireland.*

The following is an account of the 50*l.*, 20*l.*, and 40*s.* freeholders in Ireland, at the period of the last general election :*—

County of	£50	£20	40 <i>s.</i>
Antrim . . .	389	127	6,056
Armagh . . .	145	129	9,802
Carlow . . .	813	160	3,073
Cavan . . .	486	218	7,110
Clare . . .	605	327	13,035
Cork . . .	2,106	793	14,966
Down . . .	644	147	13,324
Dublin . . .	800	591	2,947
Fermanagh . . .	347	247	8,333
Kerry . . .	741	438	5,537
Kildare . . .	370	103	761
Kilkenny . . .	520	63	589
King's County . . .	819	11	377
Leitrim . . .	45	113	5,950
Limerick . . .	1,119	774	10,793
Londonderry . . .	353	81	4,213
Longford . . .	292	125	3,106

* The very great disproportion of the different species of freeholders as returned in this statement, may convey some idea of the great extent to which the Disfranchisement bill must operate, in depriving the people of Ireland of their just rights as freemen.

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Louth, there are 8,000 freeholders, but the amounts of qualification are indiscriminately mixed in the book.

Mayo . . .	318	157	19,987
Meath . . .	663	62	1,089
Monaghan . . .	261	109	6,754
Queen's County . . .	762	225	4,483
Roscommon . . .	441	199	8,685
Tipperary . . .	602	562	8,180
Tyrone . . .	108	155	8,779
Waterford . . .	333	114	2,119
Westmeath . . .	441	181	2,275
Wexford . . .	580	452	8,194
Wicklow . . .	257	59	1,066

Returns have not been received from the counties of Donegal, Galway, and Sligo.

The totals of the above are—forty shillings, 179,103—twenty pounds, 6,909—fifty pounds, 20,560. It does not appear, however, that they afford an accurate view of the real state of the constituency, as some of the clerks of the peace have made such notifications as the following:—

I certify that the foregoing is a true return, as the different classes of freeholders appear entered on the registry; but numbers of all the classes, more particularly the fifty-pound freeholders, the return of which goes as far back as 1795, *must be dead, or have lost their freeholds* by the expiration of their titles, by the diminution in the value of lands, and from various other causes.

JAMES CHETTETON,
Clerk of the Peace, Co. Cork.

I do not think that more than one-half of the above number could now vote, as many of them are dead; and almost all, if not the entire, of the forty-shilling and twenty-pound freeholders are twice registered, and many three times.

ADAM NIXON,

Clerk of the Peace for Fermanagh.

The forty-shilling and twenty-pound freeholders are taken up from April 1817: the fifty-pound freeholders from December 1785: many of the fifty-pound freeholders are supposed to be dead. There are a number of forty-shilling freeholders lately registered, which, agreeably to the order of the House of Commons, could not be included in the foregoing return.

JOHN FLOOD,

Clerk of the Peace, Co. Kilkenny.

NOTE.—I think it may reasonably be presumed that some of the above number, whose names appear on the books, are not now living; and I believe also, that the apparent gross number is multiplied, from the circumstance that there are some re-registries among the forty-shilling freeholders.

ARTHUR D'ESTERRE,

Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Co. Limerick.

We cannot help remarking, that a slovenliness and indifference are manifest in most of the documents transmitted to parliament from public officers in this country, which deserve the strongest censure. Of thirty-two returning officers, it seldom happens that three will take

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the same view of the duty that is imposed upon them, or discharge it in a similar manner. Some will altogether withhold the information sought to be obtained from them, and others give it vaguely and imperfectly, in instances in which accuracy and precision seem not only practicable but easy. When any of our representatives next moves for a series of returns, we would recommend him to notice the matter with the seriousness which it deserves.

One of the objects in seeking for freehold lists was, to ascertain the number of forty-shilling voters who hold *in fee*. "John Bourne, clerk of the peace for Louth," could not give the least information on the subject. In his books there is no classification of the voters; but there is preciseness enough to enable him to bundle all together, and tell the aggregate amount. We beg his pardon. On looking again to the return, we see there is a "value column;" but he tells us that "the forty-shilling, the twenty-pound, the fifty-pound, and the hundred-pound freeholders are *indiscriminately mixed*." Perhaps the explanation which he gives of this "*indiscriminate mixture*" will be deemed sufficient, namely, that "there never was a contested election in the county of Louth since the year 1768." May we be permitted to mention, that the families who have so capitally succeeded in making a borough of this county for fifty-seven years are the **Jocelyns and the Fosters**? Of the other clerks of the peace, it seems three (those of Donegal, Galway, and Sligo) had sent no returns, bad or good; and five (those of Armagh, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kerry, and the Queen's County) sent returns, but were

not able to state any thing positively with regard to the *fee* interests of the forty-shilling freeholders.

The Counties of which the reporters are able to speak with certainty are twenty-two. Of these, nine—viz.

Antrim,	Clare,	Londonderry,
Carlow,	Cork,	Longford, and
Cavan,	Down,	Louth—

have 1661 forty-shilling freeholders, possessed of property in fee, supposing the numbers set down for Longford (1341) to be correct. This, however, a London paper, with apparent reason, conceives to be very doubtful. The Counties in which it is ascertained that there are no freeholders possessing property in fee, are —

Kildare,	Louth,	Tyrone,
Kilkenny,	Mayo,	Waterford,
King's County,	Meath,	Westmeath,
Leitrim,	Roscommon,	and
Limerick,	Tipperary,	Wicklow.

Tipperary is stated as containing 6002 fifty-shilling freeholders. This, too, seems manifestly erroneous. Indeed the whole return is all through clumsy, unprecise, and unsatisfactory.

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II.—*Freeholders registered and Freeman admitted for the last seven years in different parts of Ireland as far as returned to Parliament.*

Athlone	.	.	.	10
Bandon	.	.	.	92
Belfast	.	.	.	4
Carrickfergus	.	.	.	47
Cashel	.	.	.	2
Cork freeholders	.	.	.	12,267
— freemen	.	.	.	887
Drogheda	.	.	.	574
Dublin freeholders	.	.	.	1,260
— freemen	.	.	.	960
Dungannon	.	.	.	770
Kilkenny freeholders	.	.	.	326
— — freemen	.	.	.	212
Kinsale	.	.	.	42
Mallow	.	.	.	538
Tralee	.	.	.	11
Waterford freeholders	.	.	.	17
— freemen	.	.	.	66
Youghal	.	.	.	none

No returns arrived from Clonmel, Ennis, Limerick, Londonderry, Galway, and Portarlington.

III.—*Augmentation and Decrease of the several classes of Freeholders throughout Ireland from 1801 to 1821.*

The increase and decrease of freeholders in Ireland may be classed under the following heads :—

FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS.

1st, In Ulster, since 1803 to 1821, the forty-shilling freeholders remained very nearly stationary, with the exception of the county of Londonderry, where they quintupled, and Donegal, where they doubled. 2nd, In Leinster there was a very great change within the same period. This appears particularly striking on comparing both the aggregate and the details. The aggregate decreased from 32,127 to 28,492. There was a diminution of about half in the King's County; in Kilkenny and Louth they increased, doubled in West Meath and Wexford, and tripled in Meath. In Wicklow they fell off about one-third; in the other counties they remained nearly stationary. 3rd, In Connaught the aggregate number of forty-shilling freeholders increased upwards of 10,000. This augmentation was most sensible in Galway and Leitrim, where they doubled; they increased about one-third in Mayo and Roscommon, and in Sligo they diminished about one-fifth. 4th, In the province of Munster, the augmentation far exceeded that of the other provinces. The aggregate increased from 24,653 to 41,256. This augmentation was most perceptible in Limerick, where the number of freeholders increased one-fifth; in Clare, Cork, and Waterford, where they doubled; but especially in Tipperary, where, owing probably to a series of contested elections, they very nearly tripled. Kerry appears the only county which suffered any diminution. Its forty-shilling constituency fell off very nearly one-fifth. In the cities, generally speak-

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ing, they slightly increased. Dublin formed an exception; from 216 they at one period fell off to 21.

FIFTY AND TWENTY POUND FREEHOLDERS.

They are by far most numerous, in proportion to its extent, in Leinster. From 1801 to 1821, the fifties increased one-third, the twenties diminished nearly one-half. In Ulster the fifties increased from 807 to 1,888, and the twenties from 1,407 to 1,724. This is a very small proportion compared with the forty-shilling constituency of the same province. In 1821, the forty-shilling freeholders amounted to 27,737, far exceeding the proportion of this description of electors to the fifty and twenty pound freeholders in any other province. Even in Connaught, considered the poorest, the number of fifty-pound freeholders exceed those in Ulster; their forty-shilling freeholders were considerably less. As in Leinster, the fifty-pound freeholders slightly increased, but the twenty-pound freeholders, though in a much smaller proportion, diminished. Munster presents the most remarkable augmentation. In 1803, there were 6,795 fifties; they had increased in 1821 to 8,197. The twenties had not suffered by this alteration as in Leinster and Connaught, but had risen in the same period from 3,251 to 5,572. This gives a very great excess above the fifty and twenty-pound constituency in Ulster, which, nearly equal in extent, is supposed to be far richer (and with its riches more equally diffused) than Munster. The numerous "locations," as they are termed, and the combination of manufactures with agriculture, sufficiently account for the very large

amount of the forty-shilling constituency in the North, but I am not aware of any satisfactory reason for the proportionably small number of the fifty and twenty pound freeholders in the same district. From its acknowledged superiority in civilization, precisely the contrary phenomena should be expected.

IV.—List of the numbers of Freeholders polled in various shires in England in which severe contests have taken place within a recent period.

1820.	1826.
<i>Bedford.</i>	<i>Bedford.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 3,982	Total number of votes . 3,786
<i>Berks.</i>	<i>Huntingdon.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 2,270	Total number of votes . 2,737
<i>Cumberland.</i>	<i>Northumberland.</i>
Three candidates.	Four candidates.
Total number of votes . 406	Total number of votes . 5,253
<i>Devon.</i>	<i>Oxford.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 6,298	Total number of votes . 3,698
<i>Glamorgan.</i>	<i>Somerset.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 3,741	Total number of votes . 3,840
<i>Durham.</i>	<i>Surrey.</i>
Two candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 1,284	Total number of votes . 5,735
<i>Middlesex.</i>	<i>Sussex.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 10,662	Total number of votes . 5,353
<i>Sussex.</i>	<i>Westmoreland.</i>
Three candidates.	Three candidates.
Total number of votes . 5,545	Total number of votes . 5,490
<i>Westmoreland.</i>	
Three candidates.	
Total number of votes . 4,341	

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V.—*Elective Franchise in France.*

The Charter declares that no man can be an elector who does not pay 300 francs of direct taxes, and that no man is eligible who does not pay 1,000 francs.

The law of the 5th of Feb. 1817, a law proposed by the King, who was the author of the charter, and afterwards sanctioned by him, appeared to have regulated for ever the application of this principle, and the exercise of the electoral right. This organic law was identified with the fundamental. It notwithstanding received important modifications by the law of June 1820.

The law of 1817 declared, that every Frenchman paying a contribution in direct taxes of 300 francs was an elector, and that every Frenchman paying 1,000 francs was himself eligible. This was the liberal interpretation of the charter.

The first electors were highly favourable to the popular party. The inconsiderate choice of the Abbé Gregorie gave rise to the most violent recriminations. The King was alarmed; foreign powers interfered; and at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle they exacted from the Duke of Richelieu an engagement to modify the law of 1817. The active intrigues of the Minister, the murder of the Duke of Berry, the creation of seventy new peers by M. de Cazes, finally triumphed over the cause of the nation. The law of the 29th June, 1820, was substituted for that of the 5th September, 1817.

A third election law was passed on the 2nd of July last.

The result of these laws on the elective franchise is as follows :

The taxes which must be paid to give the rights of election and eligibility remain unaltered.

The law of the 5th of February, 1817, made the electors meet in one single college, in the chief town of each department. Thus eighty-six electoral assemblies were formed.

The law of June 29, 1820, broke the Electoral body into factions, and created two hundred and seventy-eight arrondissement colleges, but still leaving eighty-six departmental colleges, in which a certain number of electors (forming one-fourth of the whole electoral body), after having voted in the arrondissement colleges, again vote. Thus men of large property have a double vote, a privilege evidently contrary to the character and spirit of our laws.

Not satisfied with these usurpations of the rights of the public, in the name of law, no description of violence or fraud was omitted, in order to procure the return of the partisans and supporters of government. The law of 28th of July last has attempted to establish some security against the return of such abuses. It presents new rules for the formation of the electoral lists, and authorises the intervention of hired parties against violations of the franchise.

The provisions by which contested elections are decided are numerous. If a citizen claiming the right of voting finds himself erroneously described in the list drawn up by the prefect, he may proceed in support of his claim before that magistrate by a petition, which is

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tried in the council of the prefecture; and if there arise any dispute as to domicile, or the rating of the taxes, the claimant may appeal to the royal courts, which give judgment in the last resort. Third persons, that is to say, other electors than he who is directly interested in the question, may prosecute the person who has procured an illegal inscription. The *procès* is then carried on by the third party before the administration of the prefecture; and on the appeal before the royal courts, all the keepers of civil registers and of lists of taxes, are held bound to allow the electors to examine these documents, and to deliver extracts from them when required. These wise and patriotic precautions are due to the law of 2nd July, 1828, and to the present Ministry.

When an eligible candidate is chosen deputy, the validity of his return is decided on by the chamber, which is divided into nine bureaux or sections formed by lot. The bureau to which the returned candidate belongs examines his election, and a report of that examination is made to the chamber in a public sitting.

There are no hustings, no processions, no expense ruinous to the candidates. The elections are perfectly peaceable. They take place in the towns marked out by the president. The electoral assembly appoints four scrutators and a secretary:—an election may be concluded in a day. The Urn for receiving the votes is open from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon. Every elector votes secretly, by delivering to the president a sealed billet which contains his vote. To render the election valid, the Electoral assembly must consist of at least two-thirds of the electors in-

scribed on the list, and the candidate must have an absolute majority of the suffrages. The secrecy of the vote is rigorously required; and nothing revolted the public against the last administration more than the indecent manner in which the violation of this rule was encouraged. The candidates doubtless endeavour to gain the favour of the electors; but a failure would be certain were money to be distributed amongst them. The only expenses consist in a few dinners given and received, and in the line of carriages to bring up distant or tardy electors.

The deputies are elected for seven years. An elector cannot vote until he is thirty, and a candidate must be forty to entitle him to be elected. These precautions against the vivacity of the French character might be modified with advantage. The former might be reduced to twenty-five and the latter to the thirty.

The number of electors in 1820 was 102,000. It is now not more than 88,000, in consequence of an alteration in the land-tax. The number eligible for deputies was then 22,000; they do not at present amount to more than 16,000, a very inconsiderable number indeed, in a nation containing 32,000,000 of inhabitants.

VI.—Comparison between the English and French mode of Election, by a recent French Traveller in Ireland, Monsieur Duvergier.

“What do you think of our elections?” Such is the question I am asked almost every day, and, simple as it may at first appear, I find it extremely difficult to

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answer it. The English elections are in fact a very singular mixture of every thing the most noble and the most vile, the most serious and the most ridiculous, of the very best and the very worst in our nature. On one side, orgies, gross and debasing, a market where conscience is set up to the highest bidder, a hideous picture of disorder, riot, tumult, and brutality; on the other, the platform raised in the midst of the public square, the initiation of the people in all the most important affairs of the country, and the grand spectacle of an intelligent and free nation, called forth to decide on its own destinies and interests. How in the midst of so many considerations, each so completely distinct from the other, is it at all practicable to give a sure or decided opinion? This difficulty augments as you descend to details. The great number of the electors, the publicity of their votes, the open contest between the candidates, all these are most admirable institutions; but then in return how many absurdities—how many anomalies do they embrace? How many populous cities are there without any representatives? how many counties which cannot be approached without the passport of many thousand pounds? how many boroughs where some rich proprietor, or his agent, or coachman, are the only electors? in fine, every thing which can be imagined most capricious, absurd, and oppressive. There are some clever people in France, who set the question at rest without quitting their firesides, and decide at once, according to their respective prejudices, that the English elections are the most admirable or abominable of political institutions. I, who have just witnessed

these elections, am considerably less advanced. I do not know what opinion I am to form.

In this confusion however of good and evil, is it not possible to make some sort of choice? Here are monstrous abuses, recognised as such by the entire country: how comes it that the entire country is not yet agreed to erase them at once from the code of her laws? Thus purified from the corruptions which deface it, the effects of such a system would be soon felt by the blessings and advantages which it would be so well calculated to produce. Such was my conviction but a month or two ago. A closer and more attentive examination has since taught me very materially to modify this opinion; and the proposition of Lord John Russell now appears to me but very little better than mere trifling. Like the system of the Jesuits, it is essential that the election system of England should exist as it is, or not exist at all. It is an edifice, the component parts of which, though ill linked in appearance, are indissoluble in reality. Throw it down if you think proper, and build up another in its place; but to think of repairing it under its present form is the very worst of absurdities: instead of making it better, you will only make it worse. Look for example at the rotten boroughs: it is against them in particular that is usually levelled the whole artillery of the demi-reformers. Now, in the actual state of things, the rotten boroughs are the only seats open to talent, the only counterpoise to the immense ascendancy of birth and fortune. Without the rotten boroughs, you must have a property of 20,000*l.* a year to qualify you for a place in the House of Commons.

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Without them Mr. Canning would never have been Minister, nor Mr. Brougham head of the opposition. The borough of Grampound carried on a public traffic on the rights of election. In order to visit this abuse with the punishment it merited, the legislature has transferred to the county of York the privilege of choosing the two members who formerly were returned by the borough of Grampound. Nothing could be fairer in appearance than such an adjudication; and yet, in the reality, what is the result? That from a smaller place two seats in parliament have passed to a greater. For four or five thousand pounds, a person might have represented Grampound. Now, to represent Yorkshire, you must at least run the chance of losing 80,000*l.*: and this is what is usually termed an amelioration!

Such, generally speaking, are most of the half measures which are annually proposed in parliament. One or two Lords, to acquire a certain share of popularity at a small expense, may indulge, if such be their fantasy, in preaching up these partial kinds of reform: they may thunder against the rotten boroughs, if so they will, or generously extend from fifteen days to a month the time allotted to pursue and punish corruption: but the people of England are not to be deceived; they are opening their eyes, they are no longer to be amused by these paltry expedients. They fully feel, that the object they have in view is of a totally different nature, and that an entire and thorough remodelling of the system can alone radically and efficiently improve it. This also is the opinion of Bentham and his school; but, in his passion

for abstractions, Bentham sweeps away both the good and the evil. In his plan there are no more hustings, no more public meetings, no more public speaking, no more votes given boldly and freely in public; but in each village there is proposed in their stead a box, where secretly and without the least noise each citizen may come and drop his billet; in a word, silence and mystery are every where substituted for agitation and publicity; a great deal of order, but no spirit; a semblance, a shadow, but no life. Is not this treating the man like a machine, and the whole moral system like a system of algebra? Better, a thousand times better, the elections as they are, with all their turbulence and corruption.

Augment the number of electors, they exclaim in another direction, and when every citizen is called on to vote, seduction will be rendered impracticable. Take every means to diminish them, they repeat in a third, and the choice of our representatives will then be entrusted to men of honour, *bonâ fide* proprietors of the soil, who will not descend to a base traffic upon their rights. The first of these opinions leads directly to universal suffrage, and Preston is there to furnish a reply. As to the second, I much doubt whether it be in any degree preferable. In the present system, the contest is carried on, at least with equal arms. An elector, whatever may be his vote, is sure to have his conveyance, eating and drinking, at free cost. As long as bribery goes no farther than this, he is in the full and perfect enjoyment of his freedom. Raise the qualification of the franchise, and to the bribery of a few

distinguishes their public speeches. There is but one omission in all this, that they forget to express distinctly what are the real objects they have in view, or rather they do not forget, but take good care, how they commit so material an imprudence. Suppose, for instance, assembled at the same table, the opposition and the counter-opposition of France. As long as they confine themselves to general attacks upon the Ministry, or to vague declamations in praise of liberty, every thing would probably go as well as could be desired. But do you imagine, that the moment they should take it into their heads to give their opinions a precise and determinate form, the whole of this flattering appearance of harmony would not immediately, in some manner or other, be taken up? Now this is precisely the case with the reformers of England.

What conclusions then are we to draw from all this? That the country is not yet ripe for a Parliamentary Reform; that this reform ought perhaps not to precede but to follow many other changes of still higher import; and that in awaiting this desirable amelioration, the people of England cannot do better than to sit down satisfied with the existing system. From so much inquiry and discussion as lately have taken place, a clear and simple idea must sooner or later undoubtedly spring up, which in due time will strike all eyes, and shake to their foundation every remaining prejudice. It will then be full time to embody such idea into a law; but till then, every attempt at change will be little other than an innovation without an improvement. Taking every thing together, there is besides, it must be re-

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membered, in the present system, something exceedingly vigorous and grand. It is surely no ordinary spectacle, that of a nation convened upon an appointed day, to hear the humble supplication of its rulers, and according to their works to confirm or cashier them: such an institution may well defy many sneers, and resist the influence of many inherent vices. And what in effect are its actual results? Of six hundred and fifty members, not more than one hundred and fifty have been changed, and already the eyes of the public are turned on all sides towards the new parliament. The numerical majority it is well known cannot suffer any material alteration, and yet every one is in expectation and suspense. What is the cause of this singular phenomenon? and how comes it that an assembly born in the very lap of riches and corruption, is capable of inspiring an interest so lively? how is it possible, that any thing can be expected from a meeting so defectively constituted in its very origin? It is, because the very right of election implies a power which is superior to it; and as long as it shall be permitted to develop itself freely, this power, in England, must always end by carrying before it every other. I speak of public opinion, of the sovereign ruler of the entire nation, the power before which must bow all other powers in the country. The aristocracy itself exists but *through* and *by* it, and is compelled to flatter its supremacy, in order to maintain its own due rank and station in the community. Where the public manners continue pure and vigorous, where the press is free, where the right of associating and meeting in public is without control or restriction, what could a

parliament be capable of effecting which was once abandoned by public opinion? On all sides would soon spring up new rivals, in new Houses, in new assemblies of the nation, who, chosen freely by the will of the people, would soon rise above it in popular estimation. Towards *them* exclusively would the public direct its attention, in them exclusively would the public repose its confidence. In vain would the legitimate House of Commons send forth its decrees; in vain would it fulminate its prohibitions: its competitors would revive under a thousand pretexts, and favoured by the very agitation and tumult even of the electors, they would ultimately succeed by governing the country. Let no one then be deceived; public opinion has always in the end *obtained* what it *willed* with energy; and if, in the nineteenth century, the English code continues still to be stained with the relics of former fanaticism and inequality, it is because inequality and fanaticism still exist in the manners and mind of the English people.

For a considerable time, the reformers seem altogether to have passed over this important truth. It was against the parliament that their efforts were exclusively directed. They seem scarcely to have thought of remounting to the original principle. At last, however, their eyes are opened. They no longer aim at the summit, but at the base, well assured of a complete victory the moment that public opinion shall declare in their favour. Hence it is that books have replaced conspiracies, and the corn question that of annual parliaments. This new march of things and men cannot but be attended with some great result. Thanks to such a change;

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the great political farce, so long played off between opposite parties, has now almost entirely disappeared, or rather those parties themselves have very nearly become extinguished. When in the present day we talk either of a Whig or a Tory, we talk of things which no longer have a meaning. Mr. Canning is a Tory, and yet he it was who proposed the changes which have lately taken place in the corn laws. Lord Grey is a Whig, and he, it is said, has declared in parliament, that he will transmit untouched to his son the inheritance of his father. Sir Francis Burdett is a Radical, and he professes the most marked aversion to any system which does not sanction the principle of entail, and the inequality which at present exists in the division and apportioning of property. After such anomalies, I should like to hear what constitutes the essential difference between Tory, Whig, and Radical. Between Whig and Tory, Hunt professes to see but one distinction, that the Tory is actually in power, and the Whig is anxious to be so. This opinion indeed may be considered applicable to a great number of Whigs. For many years, opinions were never consulted in the selection of a party. A man assumed the principles of Whig or Tory, from none but a compact or inheritance: the member of such and such a house could not without dishonour sit down on the benches of the opposition, or of such another, on those of the treasury:—they were ministerialists, or oppositionists born. In other particulars, they had, in every respect the same ideas, the same opinions, and the same prejudices. I am acquainted with a circle in London, the admission into which requires the proof of

at least four quarters of nobility; and more than one Whig of high birth inveighs with bitterness against those villanous shopkeepers, who have had the insolence to blazon upon their equipages their coats of arms. Speak of the game laws to Mr. Peel or Sir Francis Burdett, and then tell me which of the two is the most liberal?

This decomposition or dissolution of ancient parties, is indeed quite evident to the most casual observer. The elements which originally composed them must in time have acquired new affinities. Until these affinities shall be clearly ascertained, there of course will continue to be much confusion and disorder, but out of this disorder, sooner or later must arise, a new system, a better order of things. To a classification altogether factitious, will gradually succeed another, infinitely more natural: every one will then know his objects and his intentions, what he aims at, whither he is going, and the public will no longer be duped by a few high-sounding words. The discussion of the corn question is well calculated to accelerate these changes. There will ere long be a struggle, direct and uncompromising; a struggle of substantial and solid interests, between the contending powers of the community; and such in general are all those which lead to any thing efficient or permanent in a country. The question for decision will then be, whether a few Lords, for the purpose of keeping up their incomes to their present rental, will insist on their privilege of starving the great body of the people. Neither the people nor Mr. Canning seem to be of this opinion: but the aristocracy is alarmed, and it is not

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unlikely the whole will end by a mutual compromise between all parties. In such a case, however, to compromise is to yield. Taken individually, four hundred out of the six hundred members of the Commons, are very possibly supporters of the most absolute prohibition; but in their public capacity, they dare not for an instant maintain these sentiments, so completely are they under the wholesome rôle of that public opinion, which in other places and circumstances they affect to despise. Under such a guardianship as this, there cannot exist a bad parliament.

After he has witnessed the elections, conduct a stranger into the House of Commons, and he will not believe it possible that such means could produce so remarkable a result, or that a machine so rickety in itself, when applied to use, could work so well. To solve the problem, a word or two will be sufficient. With such, every thing becomes intelligible; without them, nothing. Chain to-morrow the English press; prohibit the citizens from meeting or speaking in public; prevent them from associating together, as they may think proper; see that the elections be conducted in secrecy and silence, and in a very short period you will have *Venice* instead of *London*. Yet all the forms of the constitution shall religiously be preserved; and more than one politician may still continue to indulge in ecstasies on the exact balance of the several constituent powers of the republic. Between the 43rd and 51st degree of latitude, there does exist a country which has nearly come to this. But as long as a certain word remains written on a certain piece of paper, for a great portion

of mankind, it is quite sufficient. It reminds one of the horse which Orlando dragged after him: the beast was an admirable one, it is true, but it had one defect, that of being *dead*.

No. XXII.

WATERFORD ELECTION.

I.—*First Address of Lord George Beresford to the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Waterford.*

Gentlemen,

I would not have intruded myself upon your attention, at a time when the exercise of your elective franchise must be distant, did I not fear that my silence might be misinterpreted; and I should indeed regret, that any of those friends whose independent support has rendered my success certain (let a dissolution of parliament take place when it may), should believe that the security with which they have invested me can ever make me unmindful that it is to their kindness I owe it.

I fully agree with my juvenile antagonist, that the result of the approaching contest will do much to determine the real nature of the elective franchise to determine whether property is to have its due weight, and whether the long-cherished relations of landlord and tenant are to exert their fair and legitimate influence, or whether the political obedience of the Roman Catholic freeholder is due to his spiritual guide—and whether the county of Waterford is to put forth its

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strength in the dignity of independence, or to crouch to a coalition hatched and held together by a few demagogues, unconnected with your county, who claim that toleration they have never practised.

Gentlemen,

I seek a seat in parliament at your hands, as an object of ambition—of honest, of honourable ambition. I seek your independent support upon principles as independent, and offer myself to your consideration, not as an intolerant or party man (as has been invidiously alleged against me), but as an independent candidate, unshackled by coalition, unfettered by associations, unsubdued by demagogues, unawed by power, and unpledged to the support of men or measures; free as that glorious constitution which we justly prize as our dearest inheritance, and determined conscientiously and fearlessly to support the best interests of my native country and of the empire at large.

Upon these principles I rest my pretensions, and solicit your powerful and constitutional support, to rebuke and annihilate the unnatural and intolerant combination formed against your rights and independence. Nor can I for a moment doubt that your spirited and patriotic exertions will maintain me in the proud situation which I now hold, and in which my family and myself have long had the honour to serve you.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged and devoted Servant,

GEORGE T. BERESFORD.

Curraghmore, 21st October, 1825.

II.—Address of H. Villiers Stuart, Esq. to the Gentlemen, Clergymen, and Freeholders, of the County Waterford.

Gentlemen,

Called upon as I have been by a great majority of the independent electors, I feel it my duty to announce without further delay my intention of offering myself as a candidate for the representation of your county at the next election.

Little known as yet in public life, I could not think of soliciting your suffrages without giving you previously an open and explicit declaration of my political sentiments.

To the British constitution, which is the basis of our liberties and our glory, I feel an ardent attachment; and as Catholic emancipation is that measure which in my mind is best calculated to uphold and strengthen it, my constant and most strenuous exertions shall be directed towards its accomplishment. In making this declaration, my motive is not one of selfish policy, which would accommodate principle to temporary advantage. I am influenced by a strong sense of the justice of the claims of my Catholic fellow-subjects, and by an entire confidence in the honesty of their views and principles. The desire which they manifest, with so unequivocal a unanimity, to be relieved from disabilities and to share in the privileges of the state, while it affords a proof that they duly appreciate the value of a free constitution, gives the strongest and best assurance of their dis-

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position to maintain it.—Every true friend to the real welfare of the empire must be deeply interested in the success of this great measure. Ireland can never prosper nor enjoy tranquillity, nor will the security of England rest on a solid basis, whilst seven millions of inhabitants are kept, on account of tenets purely religious, in a state of political servitude.

As I mean now to have the honour of making personal application to each of you, I deem it right to make this explicit avowal on terms upon which I aspire to the high honour of becoming one of your representatives in parliament. I would not purchase a single vote by any artful disguise of my sentiments upon a subject of such paramount interest to the empire at large, and of such peculiar importance to the county of Waterford; and if I have the misfortune of differing with any of my friends upon this great and vital question, I have only to claim that indulgence to which honest conviction is justly entitled.

With every feeling of respect,

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble Servant,

HENRY VILLIERS STUART

Waterford, August 8, 1825.

III.—*Sum Total of the Poll.*

Mr. Power	.	.	.	.	1424
Mr. Stuart	.	.	.	.	1857
Lord George Beresford	.	.	.	.	528

Besides upwards of *seven hundred freeholders* more, who were ready to come to the poll, for Power and Stuart, when his Lordship gave in.

NO. XXIII.

ORDER OF LIBERATORS.

Rules and Regulations of the Order.

The Order of the Liberators is a voluntary association of Irishmen for purposes legal and useful to Ireland.

The objects of "The Order" are these:—

I. As a mode of expressing the gratitude and confidence of the people for past services:—

II. To form a society of persons, who will consider it a duty due to their country to effectuate the following purposes:—

No. 1. To prevent the formation or continuance in their respective vicinages of any secret society or confederacy whatsoever, the greatest evil in Ireland, and that which has tended most to prevent the success of her efforts to meliorate the condition of the people, being secret societies. No person who is not deeply convinced of this truth, can belong to the Order of Liberators.

No. 2. To conciliate all classes of Irishmen in one bond of brotherhood and affection, so that all religious animosities may for ever cease among Irishmen.

No. 3. To bury in total and eternal oblivion all ancient animosities and reproaches, no matter by whom inflicted or who may be the sufferer.

No. 4. To prevent the future occurrence of feuds

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and riots at markets, fairs, and patronage, and to reconcile the parties and factions which have hitherto disgraced many parts of Ireland.

No. 5. To promote the collection of a national fund for national purposes, as far as that can be done consistently with law.

No. 6. To protect all persons possessed of the elective franchise, and especially the forty-shilling freeholders, from all vindictive proceedings on account of the free exercise of such franchise.

No. 7. To promote the acquisition of such franchise, and its due registry, to ascertain the number of votes in each county and city in Ireland, and the political bias of the voters generally.

No. 8. To promote the system of dealing exclusively with the friends of civil and religious liberty, Protestant and Catholic, with a selection, when a choice can be made, of Protestant friends, being the most disinterested of the two; and also to prevent, as much as possible, all dealing with the enemies of Ireland, whether Protestant Orangemen, or Orange Catholics, the worst of all Orangists.

No. 9. To promote the exclusive use of articles the growth and manufacture of Ireland.

No. 10. To form two distinct tribunals in every county, with branches in every town and village therein—the one for the purpose of reconciling differences, and procuring parties to adjust their litigations and disputes, and the other tribunal for the purpose of deciding, by arbitration, litigations and disputes between parties who may resist a settlement without arbitration.

No. XXIV.

DUTIES OF INSPECTORS AND CHURCH-
WARDENS.

The committee having taken into consideration the subject of the appointment of five inspectors of Catholic Rent in each county, have agreed to the following report:—

That such appointment would manifestly be of the greatest utility, in order the better to organise and extend the collection of the Catholic Rent to every Parish in Ireland; but to render the appointment of permanent value, it is necessary it should be made by the inhabitants of each county for themselves.

In order to obtain the co-operation of the counties in this most useful measure, the committee do strongly recommend the Association to appoint from amongst their members one chief or head inspector of Catholic Rent for each county.

That it be the duty of such inspector to repair without delay to the county for which he shall be appointed, and take all necessary measures to effectuate the following purposes:—

I. To procure the appointment of five local inspectors of Catholic Rent in and for each county.

II. To procure such inspectors to divide, and to assist them in dividing, the county into five districts of parishes, so as to make each district as nearly equal as may be most convenient, having regard to the local circumstances of each county.

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13. To arrange with the local inspectors, and personally to assist them in procuring the nomination of Catholic churchwardens in every parish in the county.

14. To arrange with the local inspectors and churchwardens to have the Catholic Rent collected in each parish on the first Sunday in every month—such Sunday to be called Catholic Rent Sunday.

15. That each inspector be authorised and required to organise the collection of the Catholic Rent in every parish, with the assistance of the local inspectors and churchwardens, as far as he can procure the same; but that it be an indispensable duty upon him to have the Rent put into a state of collection as speedily as possible, even previously to the appointment of local inspectors or churchwardens.

16. That the chief inspector do give full instructions to the local inspectors and churchwardens for the discharge of their respective duties.

17. That the duties of the local inspectors are as follows:—

To make a return once a month to the Catholic Association, giving in detail—

1st. The names of the parishes in the district in one column.

2nd. The name and address of each Catholic clergyman in such district in a separate column.

3rd. The name and address of each Catholic churchwarden in his district in a separate column.

4th. The names of the parishes in which there are no churchwardens appointed in a separate column; and to add to such last-mentioned column such measures as

the inspector has taken to procure the appointment of churchwardens in the parishes contained in such last-mentioned column.

5th. The names of the parishes in which the Catholic Rent has been collected during the preceding month, and the amount of such collection, and how it has been disposed of.

6th. The names of the parishes in which no Catholic Rent has been collected in the preceding month, and to state any suggestions that he may deem useful for extending the collection of the Catholic Rent to the defaulting parishes.

VIII. That the duties of the Catholic churchwardens be—

1st. To assist the parochial clergy in all affairs relating to temporal concerns of the parish and its schools, and other charities which the parochial clergy may confide to them.

2nd. To procure parish collectors of Catholic Rent, to any extent that may be required to complete the collection of the Catholic Rent within that parish.

3rd. To give notice on the last Sunday of every month that the ensuing Sunday, being the first Sunday of the month, would be the Catholic Rent Sunday.

4th. To attend, either in person or by a deputy, at each mass on the Catholic Rent Sunday, and to receive all such sums as may be voluntarily contributed.

5th. To give all useful information to the local inspectors of the district for the better collection and arrangement of the Catholic Rent.

6th. To make a monthly report to the Catholic Association of Ireland on the following heads.—

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1st. As to the amount of Catholic Rent collected in the parish within the month.

2nd. The number of registered freeholders.

3rd. Whether there be any and what number of persons capable of being registered as freeholders, but who are not so.

4th. The known or at least probable political bias of the freeholders, stating as well as can be done the comparative numbers of each party.

5th. The number of schools in the parish, and how supported—and whether on liberal principles, or the Kildare Place, or other improper plan.

6th. To state all matters of local grievance in the parish, especially with respect to any magisterial delinquency.

7th. To state the situation of the parish in relation to tithes, parish cess, and county rates.

The Committee earnestly recommend the adoption of the plan of naming for, and sending to, each county a chief or head inspector, so as to arrange and organise the collection of the Catholic Rent in such a manner as to procure those abundant resources which the present state of the cause of civil and religious liberty so pressingly requires.

The following duties the Committee deem to belong equally and vitally to each class of persons engaged in any way in the collection of the Catholic Rent:—

1st. To prevent the existence of Whiteboy disturbances of every species and description.

2nd. To prevent the existence of any secret societies whatsoever.

3rd. To prevent the taking of illegal oaths of any nature or kind whatsoever.

4th. To put an end to party feuds and quarrels of all kinds.

5th. To take care that an accurate census of each parish be procured.

6th. To collect signatures to the several petitions, and transmit them for presentation.

7th. To promote peaceable and moral conduct, and universal charity and benevolence, amongst all classes.

The committee are aware that success cannot, and indeed ought not to be attained, unless we procure the countenance and assistance of the Catholic clergy.—That venerated and most exemplary class of men, will give us their assistance on the terms only of our deserving that assistance.

JOHN JOSEPH MURPHY, Chairman.

No. XXV.

LIBERAL CLUBS.

Letter of Mr. Wyse, Jun. on the Organization of Liberal Clubs.

Waterford, July 30, 1828.

Sir,

It has always occurred to me that the great defect in our entire system was—the want of a good organization. By good, I mean, a uniform, universal, permanent, system of enlightened and energetic co-operation. Co-operation we, no doubt, have, and much intelligence,

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and more energy; but the other requisites still appear to be eminently wanting. To say that Ireland feels as one man, is merely saying that there is common suffering, common pursuit, and common sympathy; but floating loosely over society, without order or combination, this feeling is not yet of sufficient practical avail. Like similar powers in the physical world, unless pressed, by skill and management, into proper directions and combinations, for any really useful result, they might as well not exist. We want a well-digested system of political tactics, emanating from a single point, and extending in circle upon circle, until it shall embrace the entire nation. We want not merely an electrical spark here and there from the body, surprising and astonishing for a moment, but a continued stream of the fluid, a regularly augmenting system of light and power. The materials lie in abundance around us;—the time is come to give them shape and utility;—we have no longer to create—we have only to make use of what we have created—we have only to sit down and apply and arrange—the materials are in our hands.

Our public business has hitherto been carried on by aggregate meetings of *all* Ireland (as they are called), by county meetings, city meetings, parish meetings, and the Association. Now all these are excellent things when properly brought to act together: the defect I complain of is, that they are not. They are isolated, desultory, seldom held in concert, and almost never in reference or relation to each other. I do not say that they are of little use, but I say they might be of a great deal more. I would not keep them separated and

unconnected, but I would hang one upon the other; I would try to make them, not, as they are, a *series of links*, but a *chain*. The *aggregate meetings of all Ireland*, for instance, are absolute illusions. The very name is a misnomer. All Ireland is indeed summoned, but, debarred as we are from delegation, all Ireland cannot come. Few of our provincial gentry are ever present: the middle and lower classes, in this extended sense, not at all. Fictions, political as well as legal, may go very far, but I know of none which can convert the men of Dublin into the men of Waterford and Cork. It is true they *generally* express the same or similar opinions, but this is a coincidence, not a result. There is no representation, the usual remedy for this defect: the nation is not present either in person or by attorney. But how is this to be obviated, and what can we do? Simply this—hold the meetings if we like, but give them a right name; call them the aggregate meetings of the county and city of Dublin, which they are, and not the meetings of *all Ireland*, which they certainly are not.

The *County meetings* are scarcely better constituted. They are, too often, the mere accompaniments of an assizes. If there be an eloquent or loquacious Catholic on the circuit, they take place; if sick or absent, they do not. Like the man of Roderick Dhu, they spring up where the bar treads; when the bar passes on, they sink into the ground. This is no evil for public men, and perhaps a slight one for the country: in all cases I believe it to be inevitable. Country gentlemen are not easily to be got together at any other time of the year.

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They . . . their home first, and then their country, and are always ready to attend to her interests whenever they find them (which sometimes happens) in company with their own. Besides, though tolerable listeners, they are bad speakers, and it is natural and proper they should avail themselves of the transit of a star. But what, after all, is the real use of this? Has a half-yearly speech or tv . . . regenerated a country?

The parishes, till w . . . so few years back, were mere brute matter—absolute inert or dead. The clergy were doubting or afraid; they had the memory of the past—the shadows, and dreams, and hobgoblins of the night, about them still. The people were what the clergy and gentry made them; newspapers were not only not read, but not written—the schoolmaster, if abroad, was in the shape of an oppressor, and not as he now is, of a deliverer—the scholar saw the charter house in instruction, and could not bear to be whipped and persecuted into education. The peasant knew no other country than his farm—no law but tithe law on one side, and his own guerilla law on the other—no rights but the half rights, the miserable crumbs which fell by inadvertence from the table of his bloated and rack rent landlord. By degrees, and by slow degrees, the thing altered. The government, dreaming about its own wretched interests, whilst the interests of a nation were at stake, letting loose the reins, and then pulling them back—committing the people to themselves, and then exciting them when so committed, was the chief cause of this great revolution. Then came

the imbecilities of the local ascendency masters. The people and their strength were set at defiance—their pride was goaded—they were gradually, fully, and effectually, roused. The slave conquered: the tax-master was trampled to the earth. Waterford, Louth, &c. vindicated the honour of our national spirit and intelligence. The people got tired of kneeling, and rose up almost in one mass, and walked, in a few days, as if they had never been in the dust. Two or three elections did more in educating them to a proper sense of their wrongs and power, than all the petitioning, and groveling, and chiding, of the last half century. Then came the *simultaneous* meetings, an excellent measure; and had they taken place on any other day than on a Sunday—a mighty miracle. As it was, there was illusion in the business. The petition came to them—they did not go to the petition. But the thing was begun—the *week-day* will come *yet*—we cannot retrograde—and who is he who now dare say to the nation, “Thou shalt not advance further?”

Throughout all this, then, there is the grand deficiency which I have already pointed out—the want of uniform, universal, and permanent co-operation. Meetings of a day—meetings of bodies, totally unconnected with each other, will not do. To do any thing, men must belong to each other; that what they do should last, their exertions must be constant and systematic. Holiday impulses, anniversary explosions, are, like all other kinds of fire-works, grand things; but it is not by poetry, but by prose, that we are to succeed—by the common-place, plodding, persevering habit of every day.

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The morning and evening thought of peer and peasant must be his wrongs—his wrongs—his wrongs. This is the first place; and, next, how he may best, and most constitutionally, and most effectively, get rid of them. His chains, like those of Columbus, should be for ever in his sight: it is right he should feel them, weigh on and gnaw them, in order that they may determine him, by his own exertions, to throw them off. Then he should learn to estimate their length. No man is feeble with the nation behind him. The smallest meeting must be taught to look upon a still greater; every peasant must feel (profoundly and strongly feel) that he is an integral part of his country. There must be many hands like Briareus, but, like Briareus also, these hands must have but one heart and one head to guide them.

The Association, old and new, attempted to achieve this, but I may be pardoned, I hope, in saying, that they went wrongly about it. They continued pouring in, day after day, new streams of electricity—charging with the animating fluid numberless portions of the political machine—generating steam as occasion suggested; but a great deal of this was done at random, and no provision was made or attempted, when such powers were fully produced, for their temperate and judicious application. Besides the danger which they exposed us to in this wandering and uncontrolled shape, they did not allow us to bring one-half of our energies, and that half but feebly, into play. At the same time, both Associations had their utility; they did much—they struck the spark out of the flint—they created life within the dead

—they gave us the materials—they prepared—they animated—they created. Their errors were inseparable from their constitution: if, sometimes, too much the medium for local and individual varieties, the fault was in the very nature of the body, much more than in the members. What could be expected from an assembly which was not representative, and which, of course, must have been, in many instances, too much Dublin, and too little Ireland? This, if not counteracted by many circumstances, would have been a serious evil. No country is healthy where the heart drinks away life from the members. As long as France was absorbed in Paris, there was no freedom. America, to this day, has, properly speaking, no capital.

But are these evils to be remedied? I think they are, and am astonished they have not been remedied earlier. The form which, of all others, I confess I should prefer, for the administration of our affairs, is that system of delegation upon which was constructed the general committee of 1793. But from this we are precluded by the Convention act, or rather its interpretation. We have only then to choose what comes nearest to that system; I care not for the form, provided the essentials be the same. We must, at all events, have the uniformity, the universality, the permanence which I have recommended. In the materials already before us, with a little modification, these requisites may be found. This is an advantage. A wise man will as little as possible disturb existing habits; he will only use them in another way, and for other purposes. The point is, I repeat it, not to create (that we have done

already); but having created, not to squander, but apply.

1. The Association, the central point, the head well of all the public feeling in our body, might stand as it is, too many public, and, perhaps, too many private interests existing to allow any material alteration: if such were practicable, that is, palatable, perhaps it might be converted with advantage into a head or presiding club, augmenting its forces, by monthly ballot, from the country and city clubs all over Ireland.

2. County and city clubs might be instituted in every county. They are thus separated, because their objects, though not their interests, may occasionally differ.

3. Every city club might be composed of—1st, Original subscribers within one month, the nucleus of the club. 2ndly, The members balloted for after the expiration of that period. 3rdly, The rent collectors, as honorary members, with or without the power of voting, as might be judged expedient. The two first classes might furnish the materials for committees, for the purpose of conducting proceedings, for the restoration of defrauded rights, as far as the laws might permit, under the name of committees of management. The third class, besides combining with the other two, would be eminently serviceable as a committee of inquiry, investigating registries of freeholders, admissions of freemen, and directly communicating (within the limits of the statute) with the rent or parish clubs established by the people.

4. Every county club might be composed of the two first classes. They should establish parish clubs in

every parish in their respective counties. This might be done by a committee of gentlemen, who should make a circuit of the county. Each parish club might consist of the clergy, gentry, churchwardens, and a certain number of the respectable farmers of the parish.

5. The committees of each county and city club should meet, at least, once a week; there should be ordinary meetings once a month, and extraordinary meetings twice a year.

By this system, the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland might be conducted with precision, constancy, unanimity, and uniformity.

1. The Association might have the *initiative* of our proceedings. It should recommend the period most proper for the holding of provincial, county, and parish meetings.

2. The county and city clubs should provide for the execution of this recommendation. 1st, By convening aggregate meetings in their respective counties and city. 2ndly, By these meetings recommending provincial meetings, and convening them. 3rdly, By simultaneous parish meetings, confirming the whole.

3. A general meeting of fourteen days might conclude the series. It should be held, of course, in Dublin, after the termination of county, provincial, and parish meetings, and immediately previous to the sitting of parliament.

The principal members of the parish clubs should pledge themselves to attend the county meetings, the principal members of the county meetings and clubs in

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like manner the provincial meetings, and the principal attendants of the provincial meetings the general fourteen days' meeting of the Association. Thus might be obtained a regular, authentic, and continued statement of the feelings and progress of every portion, however small, of the entire country.

As the facilities which such a system affords for communication and dissemination of newspapers, tracts, addresses, political catechisms, &c. they do not require to be insisted on. Any person who has seen it in operation during an election, will well know how to appreciate its advantages.

By such a system, the Catholic, or rather independent constituency of Ireland, will be completely disciplined, and will not need any application of extraordinary stimulants to rouse them to a sense of their constitutional duty. Every county, in a few months, will naturally, and almost of itself, become a Clare or a Waterford. The electors will be home-taught—they will learn well—they will remember long.—The county club, and the city club, and the parish club, the club, I may say, of every place and of every hour, will keep up the feeling to a determined, enlightened, vigorous temper. The passion will become conviction, and the conviction habit. Every man will become familiar with his rights; he will know where to look for and how to obtain them. The knowledge will then practically work; the discipline of parliament will, some time or other, come, and entire Ireland will be fully prepared. If, then, we leave a Jocelyn, or a Foster, or a Beresford to represent us, whilst we have Stuarts, and Grattans, and Dawsons,

and it may be O'Connell's, to represent us, the fault will be with ourselves, not with our destiny, and from that hour forth we ought to bear our destiny like willing slaves, and not dare to raise our heads and rail insolently against it.

A third advantage, and it is incalculable, is the controlling influence which such a system gives us over the tumultuary feelings of the country. It suppresses all private feud; it extinguishes all party dissension; it breaks up those pernicious secret societies, which, at times, have wasted so much of the energies of our people; it prevents the recurrence of all those angry and insane ebullitions, which a government hostile to the people can so easily magnify or fan into insurrection. Political ameliorations in the present state of human knowledge are not to be obtained by physical force. This is a great truth, and cannot be too constantly or strongly inculcated. Despotism is to be combated with other arms than those of the flesh. The people must be taught this every where and at every hour: they must be taught to look up to a higher principle of strength, to that great moral power arising from the concert and universality of constitutional exertion, which no government, had it the head of Pitt, and the arm of Wellington, can resist long, or resist at all, consistently with its own happiness and power. We must teach them every where, how very inconvenient and annoying it is for a haughty master to have too many discontented slaves. We must convert oppression from a luxury to a pain; the aggrieved many must make themselves felt in the midst of all the enjoyments and superiorities of

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the oppressing few. ~~This lesson is learning rapidly—~~
the feeling is every where—the intelligence which is to
guide it is coming after—the combination only, which
is necessary to make this efficient, yet remains behind.
But that depends not on our enemies, but on ourselves.
Thank God, our regeneration can come, and is coming
from within. Practice is making us perfect; what was
thought impossible yes ~~done to-day—~~ what we
do to-day, will be laughed at to-morrow—I will not say,
God grant it may. It is ~~wish~~ we want, but the
will. With that will, universal and uniform, what can
we not obtain? What is there in the men of Louth,
Waterford, or Clare, that is not in the men of Ireland?
—This only—that they had order, system, organization
—and why should not all Ireland have, at this moment,
the same?

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

THOMAS WYSE, Jun.*

To Edw. Dwyer, Esq.

Secretary of the Catholic Association.

* Another letter on the improvement of clubs was addressed by Mr. Wyse to the Association a few days previous to the last aggregate meeting in Dublin, in which he suggests the propriety of calling upon the Catholics of Ireland to assemble in a species of *Annual Session*, immediately previous to the meeting of parliament, on the principle and for the purposes for which were adopted the fourteen days' meeting of the New Association. The collection of as large a portion of the scattered opinion of the country into one focus as possible being the great object in view, he proposed that the Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland should, a fortnight before the day fixed for the sittings, address a circular to the Secretaries of every county and city club in Ireland, "requesting them to impress upon their most active and intelligent members the absolute necessity of their giving their attendance at the proposed meeting, and delivering a return

At the Munster Provincial Meeting, held 26th August, 1828, at Clonmel, it was moved by James Roe, of Rocsborough, and seconded by Thomas Wyse of the Manor of St. John, Esq., Jun.*

That we most earnestly recommend the formation of Liberal Clubs in each county and city in Munster, with branches in each parish, for the purpose of securing the due registration of freeholders; the obtaining of the freedom of cities, towns, and boroughs; the correcting abuses by legal means; the contesting illegal cesses, grand jury taxation and vexatious tithes; the preventing secret societies, illegal oaths, and every manner of white-boy outrage; the discouraging of party riots, drunkenness, and village faction; and promoting the peaceable co-operation of all the people in constitutional and legal exertions for the freedom and happiness of Ireland.

before the expiration of the week, of such members as would pledge themselves to attend." Mr. Wyse conceived that such a measure would be the completion of the Liberal Club system; as it would combine all the advantages desirable from a mean between the Association and the County and City clubs. If, the day after, the Association had been suppressed, it would have been a day too late. The Association would fall back into the clubs—the clubs might be scattered, but the members would endure.

* This was the first Provincial meeting, which sanctioned the principle advanced by the Catholics, of demanding the following pledges from all future candidates at elections; viz. 1st, Opposition to the Wellington administration. 2ndly, Support of the Catholic Question. 3rdly, Of reform in parliament. The latter pledge formed the subject of a warm discussion at Clonmel and Kilkenny, but was acceded to, more from a wish to preserve the unanimity of the body, than the policy of the proposition. At this meeting an appeal was made to the Irish members friendly to the cause, to assemble in Dublin previous to the parliamentary session; and the appointment of provincial inspectors of the Catholic Rent was also agreed to.

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A resolution had been passed by the aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, and this was followed by the other provincial meetings of Ireland.

Extract of a Letter to the Editor of the Cork Chronicle on the Objects and Utility of Liberal Clubs.

Firstly,—A Liberal Club would, in whatever parish or district it is formed, serve as a centre, as a band of union, as a rallying point, for the “men of good-will” of all religions and all sects, belonging to such parish or such district. The Protestant and the Catholic, the Methodist and the Presbyterian, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, all but immoral men, would be eligible to be members of it. Observe the good that would flow from this Irish convention. Men who now think alike on politics, but who seldom come together; various circumstances in life keeping them apart, would be congregated in a liberal club; and associating and working as they would be for common purposes, they would find in the community of their interests, and the ardour and honesty of their co-operation, motives for an increase of mutual confidence and mutual affection. The Protestant would withdraw from the business or the conviviality of a liberal club, with a determination to add to the number of our Brownfows; and the Catholic would withdraw from the same, with a firm resolve to obliterate the past from his own mind, and to efface the memory of it from the minds of all those over whom he may possess influence. Classes, too, not distinguished by religious difference, would have their advantage. The rich member of the club would deserve qualities in the poor

member, for which he might not have given him full credit before, and he would communicate the discovery to his wealthy neighbours; and the poor member again would see that arrogance and heartlessness were not the necessary concomitants of riches, and the lesson he would have learned, he too would impart to his fellows. Thus the uniting principle of the club would operate far beyond the club itself; and ten men of good will would create ten hundred like themselves. This would be the prime feature of a liberal club.

. Secondly,—A liberal club would leave no stone unturned to insure for the county, city, or borough, to which it belonged, a full, free, cheap, honest, and efficient representation in parliament. It would increase the freehold registry to the utmost limits of extension, and maintain it so. It would do every thing in its power that the franchise in corporate towns should be employed for the good of the public, and not for the private ends of corporators. It would labour that honest men should be returned to parliament without expense, and that knaves should be beggared in their attempt to foist themselves upon the representation. It would reform the House of Commons, by reforming the electors, who are supposed to constitute it. No member of a liberal club would have the hardihood to expect, that any man who had expended ten or twelve thousand pounds in getting a seat in the legislature, would employ his purchase for the public. The club would labour that the public should have the giving of the seat, and that honesty, intelligence, and efficiency, should be the exclusive claims to it.

. Thirdly,—A liberal club would be useful in pointing

out all those matters which might be fit subjects for parliamentary influence, and in seeing that the petitions arising out of them were seasonably got up, properly signed, and duly forwarded to the local representatives; and a liberal club would note whether those representatives neglected the petitions intrusted to them, supported their prayer, or opposed it. It is at once ludicrous and melancholy to observe how this work of petitioning has been hitherto done, or rather not done, in Ireland. You, Sir, I believe, have a tolerably correct notion how those affairs are managed; but it may not be amiss to expose the system, or the want of system, in this particular, to those who may deem liberal clubs unnecessary. In the April of the last year, I think it was, an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of the city and county of Cork assembled in the south parish chapel of your city, and adopted two among other resolutions. One of these resolutions pledged those who adopted it "to petition the legislature for a full, free, and entire representation of the people of this island in the Commons House of Parliament." It was proposed by the member for Clare, and seconded by Mr. Richard Rouayne. The second resolution denounced the compulsory payment of the Irish Protestant clergy by the Irish Catholic people; and it also contained a pledge to seek parliamentary redress. This latter resolution was, I remember, proposed by Mr. James Daly, who certainly made some very pertinent observations in introducing it, and gave no promise that the complaint which he uttered would not be echoed in St. Stephen's. What, however, has been the fact respecting both those resolutions? Not a

single petition has gone forth from your city or county touching the one or the other of them. We can find persons enough to speak, but few to do the work. Far be it from me here to glance disparagingly at Mr. O'Connell: that gentleman has done the work of his country, and is doing it. The blame lies with gentlemen of this city and county; but there would be blame with none, if liberal clubs had been established. Such clubs, as a matter of course, would take up the great principles of civil and religious liberty. They would study that no resolution but a good one should be adopted by the people; and, when adopted, they would see that it was carried into execution.

Fourthly,—A liberal club would be useful in directing attention to all meetings where any thing of property or right, belonging to the public, would be to be disposed of, whether those meetings be called by act of parliament, or by corporate authority, or by vestry, or by party, or by individual. So much mischief has been done from time to time to the public under the sanction of meetings at which the public may be supposed to be present, but of which the public actually knew nothing, that the most unreflecting must see how very beneficially employed a liberal club would be in this particular. Some of the worst acts, general and municipal, which disgrace the statute book, some of the veriest blots of Irish legislation would never have been heard of, had there been Liberal clubs to nip the evil in the bud, to strangle it in its infancy. The foulest invasions of private right and of public liberty would be prevented, if those who first suggested the

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aggression had been met at the outset of their proceedings, and if public opinion had been brought to bear properly against them. Take for instance any of our Corporations. Why, as matters stood hitherto, the public were altogether at their mercy; those bodies could do any thing, because they could proceed with a virtual secrecy. There was no check, no opposition to them; and hence they could have their Wide-street Commissioners bills, their Harbour Commissioners bills, and their Trustees of Corn-market bills; and their Court of Conscience and Police-office bills, and their Weigh-house and Pipe-water Establishments bill. Were these good, or were they bad for your city? Were they designed to promote the public welfare, or to strengthen the hands of a party? Were they measures such as ought to be praised, or such as ought to be reprobated? The citizens of Cork had no control in originating, modifying, or perfecting them; but a *Liberal club* would; it would teach the Corporation to respect public opinion; or if it failed in that, it would then have two representatives who would be sure to represent it. It is, however, in preparing for the Easter vestry meetings that your liberal club would be eminently useful. It would have every man in the parish ready at his post, to raise his voice against taxation without representation: it would send its honest Protestant there to protect against injustice, to shame him who would praise Heaven and plunder his neighbour; and it would send the Catholic there to vote when he may, and to learn when he may not. We must all see that it was most unreasonable to throw, as

heretofore, the burden of the vestry war on some few individuals. The latter might, to be sure, have been prodigal of their services in the cause of their country. The business of all, however, should be executed by all, and it is only when all take it up, that it is discharged efficiently.

Fifthly,—A liberal club would employ the press, prudently, universally, and permanently, for the enlightening of the people. It would adopt or select those political journals, tracts, or catechisms, which would be best calculated for the instruction of the public, and it would take good care that they should receive the widest possible circulation. It would teach the people their rights and duties. It would teach them the obligations of the magistrate, and the duties of the citizen; it would tell them what it is to be an elector, and what a representative; it would point out the road to parliament, as the road to the redress of public grievances, telling them at the same time, that with themselves lay the appointment of the redresser; it would recommend reform, and depict revolution, and it would show how criminal would be the latter, if attempted by persons who could quietly compass the former. All this a liberal club would do, and doing this, it would be each day diminishing its own labour, and causing itself to be less needed.

Sixthly,—A liberal club would prove its utility by reconciling factions—by discountenancing the formation of illegal associations—by keeping the people on their guard against emissaries—by labouring that private and public peace should be the characteristic of the country. With a view to these ends, so desirable, so

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necessary, the attention of the club would be directed to that curse of Ireland, "the excessive use of spirituous liquors." The drunken man is prone to riot; he is easily induced by fools or knaves to act seditiously, or to speak so. The drunkard, therefore, could not be a member of any liberal club. Such a character would be outlawed. Two thousand parishes would, by their clubs, reprobate the brute as unfit for moral enjoyment or social intercourse: and would not this be a great good for Ireland? What other measure could effect for this country any result half so beneficial? Now liberal clubs would realise it in twelve months; they would render drunkenness unpopular. The Irish drunkard would soon be like the French, and the Spanish, and the American drunkard, not laughed at, but detested—detested, as abominable and infamous.

Seventhly,—Liberal clubs would, and it would be a great desideratum, free the Catholic clergy from the heavy yoke of politics. Those gentlemen have not entered into that *arena*, in which they now cut so conspicuous a figure, from choice, but from necessity. They were forced into it. They saw that the system, which prevails, led to disorder, to outrage, to gross immorality, to the peril of the rich, to the ruin of the poor; they saw, likewise, that it was pregnant with evils, greater than any it had ever before engendered: with this they perceived that the remedy lay with the legislature, and they girt themselves accordingly, that the legislature might be favourable. However, though the priests greatly contributed to send in Dawson for Louth, and Stuart for Waterford, and O'Connell for Clare

still they were not "vessels" of this "election," and they felt that they had a higher and a loftier vocation; they could not but regret that the laity did not know and could not do their own duty. It would then be an inexpressible delight to any Roman Catholic clergyman, that a liberal club should be established in his parish. He would be sure that by such an institution a knowledge of their rights would be secured to his flock, and with it a knowledge how constitutionally to assert them. As a matter of course, even liberal Protestants would be glad that there would be no further occasion for clerical interference. Whilst they would be ready to admit, that it had been necessary and useful, they would like to have the bugbear removed from the ken of their less liberal brethren.

Eightily,—Liberal clubs would be very valuable in their exhibition of *working* men. The member of a liberal club, who would merely speak, might be listened to, but he would be certainly laughed at; the individual, too, who would honour the club once a year with his notice, and do no more, would be in like odour. None but the active men would be regarded—those who would give most practical effect to the principle of the club; that is, those who would do the greatest portion of the public business. This result of the institution of clubs would be most gratifying; for it is really most mortifying to see men, who are not known at all to the public, coming forward at election times, and other seasons, and assuming airs of consequence, as though they were the greatest benefactors of that public, and demi-gods in the eyes of all others, as they are great gods in

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their" "All this tribe will be opposed to liberal clubs, because the clubs will be greater than all of them together, and the most hard-working man in the club the most honoured, and the most influential in it.

I could, Sir, proceed with several other matters of great import, in which a liberal club would be useful; but I feel that I have encroached too much on your space, and that I have tired on the patience also of your readers. I will now close this letter, by wishing sincerely that we had clubs, the operations of which were steadily directed to the purposes which I have recited above. How unlike they would be to those Orange pandemonia, where nothing but blood is spoken of! Do, Sir, proceed in advocating the institution of liberal clubs. The faction is already organised; it cannot progress; but the Irish people may, by, as Wyse says, a universal, uniform, permanent system of enlightened and energetic organization for constitutional ends and purposes.

*Rules and Regulations for the Formation of County Clubs.**

The rules and regulations of the "County of _____ Liberal Club" are divided into five sections. 1st, Of the members, their admission and qualification. 2nd, Of the officers and committees of the club. 3rd, Of the

* The rules both for the county clubs and the parish clubs were modified according to the circumstances of the times, and the exigencies of the several parishes and counties

meetings of the club. 4th, Of the order of business at the meetings. 5th, Of the adding to, or amending, or abrogation of the rules and regulations of the club.

1.—OF THE MEMBERS, &c.

1st—Pursuant to the resolutions of the aggregate meeting, held ———, instituting the county of ——— liberal club, it shall consist of the following members:—

1.—Original members, or those who, within the period of one month from the date of said aggregate meeting, subscribe, or shall subscribe.

11.—Members by ballot, or those who, after the expiration of such period, shall be balloted for and admitted.

2nd—A ballot shall be held once every three months at the ordinary meetings. One black bean in five shall exclude. The candidates must give in their names to the secretary a week before.

3rd—Every member shall pay a subscription on admission of 30s., and thenceforth the same sum on the 1st January annually. Till paid, no member shall be allowed to vote, speak, or in any way interfere in the concerns of the club; and if unpaid for a month after becoming due, he forthwith ceases to be a member of the club.

4th—Every member on being received, shall subscribe to these rules and regulations, and the following

PROMISE.

I promise, on the honour of a gentleman, to observe the rules and regulations of the county of ——— liberal

club, and, in case I shall infringe them, to submit to exclusion, should the club assembled in extraordinary meeting deem fit.

II.—OF THE OFFICERS, &c.

1st—The club shall be governed by a president, secretary, and treasurer, to be chosen half-yearly, at the extraordinary meetings of the club.

2nd—The business of the club in the interval of the meetings, shall be conducted by a committee of management, varying in numbers according as circumstances may require.

3rd—This committee shall be chosen and its duties prescribed at the extraordinary meetings of the club.

4th—The governing officers of the club shall, *ex officio*, be members of the committee.

III.—OF THE MEETINGS, &c.

1st—The committee shall meet for the transaction of business every week, on such day as they may find most convenient. These meetings shall be called Committee meetings.

2nd—The club shall meet by public advertisement, to transact business, and receive the reports of the committee, every three months. These meetings shall be called Ordinary meetings.

3rd—The club shall meet by individual summons from the secretary, and dine together twice a year, at the period of the assizes, to transact business, and receive the reports of the ordinary meetings. These meetings shall be called Extraordinary meetings.

4th—Five members must be present to constitute a committee ;—to constitute an ordinary meeting ;—to constitute an extraordinary.

5th—All other meetings, which may be deemed necessary, shall be convened by requisition, signed by five members of the club.

6th—The place of each ensuing meeting shall be determined at the previous ordinary meeting of the club.

IV.—OF THE ORDER OF BUSINESS, &c.

1st—The order of business in the committees shall be at the discretion of their respective chairmen.

2nd—The order of business in the ordinary meetings shall be—1st, the proceedings of last meeting ; 2nd, the reports of the committee and correspondence ; 3rd, ballot for the admission of members ; 4th, motions, of which notice must be handed in to the secretary three days previous ; 5th, finance report, with which the meeting shall conclude.

3rd—The order of business in the extraordinary meetings shall be—1st, the proceedings of the last extraordinary meeting ; 2nd, the reports of the ordinary meetings and correspondence ; 3rd, ballot for the election of officers ; 4th, motions, of which notice must be given at the last ordinary meeting ; 5th, finance report for the last half-year.

4th—No resolution or other documents shall be published, unless such publication be authorised by a general meeting of the club.

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V.—OF CHANGING THE RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1st—These rules and regulations may be added to, amended, or suppressed, at the discretion of the members of the club.

2nd—This power can only be exercised at extraordinary meetings, on a motion of a member, of which notice shall be given previous ordinary meeting of the club.

Rules for the Formation of the Parish Clubs.

Sir,

I am directed by the County Liberal Club, pursuant to the resolution passed at their first public meeting, held August 2, to communicate with you on the practicability of establishing in your parish a **Parochial Club**, on the following principles:—

1. The club to be composed, as much as possible, of the principal gentry, clergy, churchwardens, and such of the respectable farmers as can read, and are able and willing to take a part in such proceedings in their parish—These to form the first members—others to be added afterwards, by nomination or ballot.

2. The club, when so formed, to hold meetings (if possible) once a fortnight; but at all events once a month, in such place and time as they may judge expedient.

3. These clubs and meetings to have for object, keeping every man in constant readiness for future elections, maintaining the registries, inquiring into and giving in-

formation of any persecution of freeholders, &c., and promoting good order, perfect subordination to the laws, political knowledge, and liberal feeling, as much as possible in their parish.

4. A report of these particulars, addressed to the secretary, will be expected once in every three months by the county club, and perhaps oftener.

5. Every club to contribute three pence a week, and to be thereby entitled to a weekly paper, to be sent down every Saturday for their information. No other contribution to be required.

You will be so kind on the perusal of the above to state—

1. Your approbation or disapprobation of each article, and on what grounds, *seriatim*.

2. The difficulties existing (if any) to their execution.

3. Whether you be willing or unwilling to co-operate in their establishment.

I beg you to give me such answer as I may be able to lay before the club at their next quarterly meeting, and to

Believe me, dear Sir,

Very sincerely, your faithful Servant.

No. XXVI.

MR. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY CLARE.

Dublin, June, 1828.

Fellow-Countrymen!

Your county wants a representative.—I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station.

Of my qualification to fill that station I leave you to judge. The habits of public speaking, and many, many years of public business, render me, perhaps, equally suited with most men to attend to the interest of Ireland in Parliament.

You will be told I am not qualified to be elected: the assertion, my friends, is untrue.—I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true, that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of parliament; but the authority which created these oaths—the parliament—can abrogate them: and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigotted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country.

The oath at present required by law is, “That the sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and other saints, as now practised in the

church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous." Of course I will never stain my soul with such an oath: I leave that to my honourable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrible oath; he is ready to take it again, and asks your votes, to enable him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County Clare! choose between me, who abominates that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty times! Return me to parliament, and it is probable that such blasphemous oath will be abolished for ever. As your representative, I will try the question with the friends in parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They may send me to prison.—I am ready to go there to promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry in every enlightened country in the world, that the voice of all the great and good in England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.

Electors of the County Clare! Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald claims as his only merit, that he is a friend to the Catholics. Why, I am a Catholic myself; and if he be sincerely our friend, let him vote for me, and raise before

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the British empire the Catholic question in my humble person, is the way most propitious to my final success. But no, fellow-countrymen--no; he will make no sacrifice to that cause. He will call himself your friend, and act the part of your worst and most unrelenting enemy.

I do not like to give the epitome of his political life; yet, when the present occasion so loudly calls for it, I cannot refrain. He first took office under Perceval--under that Perceval who obtained power by raising the base, bloody, and unchristian cry of "No Popery" in England.

He had the nomination of a member to serve for the borough of Ennis. He nominated Mr. Spencer Perceval, then a decided opponent of the Catholics.

He voted on the East Retford bill, for a measure that would put two violent enemies of the Catholics into Parliament.

In the case of the Protestant Dissenters in England, he voted for their exclusion; that is, against the principle of the freedom of conscience--that sacred principle, which the Catholics of Ireland have ever cultivated and cherished, and on which we found our rights to emancipation.

Finally, he voted for the suppression of the Catholic Association of Ireland!!!

And after this--sacred Heaven! he calls himself a friend to the Catholics!

He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel; he is their partner in power; they are, you know, the most bitter, persevering, and unmi-

tigated enemies of the Catholics : and after all this, he, the partner of our bitterest and unrelenting enemies, calls himself the friend of the Catholics of Ireland !

Having thus traced a few of the demerits of my Right Honourable Opponent, what shall I say for myself ?

I appeal to my past life for my unremitting and disinterested attachment to the religion and liberties of Catholic Ireland.

If you return me to parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure favourable to radical reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent all the people.

To vote for the repeal of the Vestry bill, the Subletting act, and the present grinding system of Grand Jury Laws.

To vote for the diminution and more equal distribution of the overgrown wealth of the Established church in Ireland, so that the surplus may be restored to the sustentation of the poor, the aged, and the infirm.

To vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burden of taxation, and to bring the question of the repeal of the Union, at the earliest possible period, before the consideration of the legislature.

Electors of the County Clare ! choose between me and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald ; choose between him who has so long cultivated his own interests, and one who seeks only to advance yours ; choose between the sworn libeller of the Catholic faith, and one who has devoted his early life to your cause ; who has consumed his

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manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who has ever lived, and is ready to die for, the integrity, the honour, the purity, of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of Irish freedom and happiness.

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

No. XXVII.

RECONCILIATION MEETINGS.

At a meeting of the Association, held at Dublin, August 1828, Mr. Sheil proposed the following resolutions:

First,—That while we warmly congratulate the people of Tipperary upon the happy cessation of their feuds, we implore them to discontinue the holding of assemblies of the peculiar character which have recently taken place.

Secondly,—That we humbly entreat the Catholic clergy to co-operate with the Association in carrying the above resolution into effect.

Thirdly,—That Daniel O'Connell, to whose influence the pacification of Tipperary should be referred, is hereby called upon to employ his powerful and deserved authority, in deterring the people of Tipperary from the holding of such meetings, in an address ~~to be~~ printed and circulated at the expense of the Association.

Fourthly,—That it be referred to the standing committee to report whether it be, or may become expe-

dient, that a deputation shall be sent to Tipperary, and suggest such other measures as shall be deemed advisable, in order to dissuade the people from holding such meetings.

Fifthly,—Moved by Mr. Sheil, seconded by Mr. Costelloe—That Mr. O’Gorman (the Secretary of the Association) be requested to forward the resolutions to Mr. O’Connell.

*Address of the Catholic Association to the
Catholics of Tipperary.*

Fellow-Countrymen !

The Catholic Association, which has been the means, under Providence, of calling the Catholic people into existence, as a nation—which has taught the humblest individual in the community to appreciate his rights, and the community itself to approach the legislature with a legal firmness, and a union of sentiment and purpose, without a parallel, for a restitution of those rights—the Catholic Association of Ireland, virtually representing the feelings, the opinions, and the interests of the Catholic people, think it due to themselves, and above all, a duty they owe to you, to address the brave, the intelligent, and the docile people of Tipperary, on an occasion which they deem of great public importance, not only to the inhabitants of Munster, but to the Catholic cause itself.

The Association thank the men of Tipperary for the wise and honourable alacrity with which they listened to the voice of their great leader—of that eminent and

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extraordinary man, who, under God, is leading them out of the house of bondage into the blessings of equal freedom. They thank the Tipperary men for listening to the voice of Daniel O'Connell—and burying, as they have done, in utter oblivion, the fends and follies of the generations which preceded them, and of their own. No incident in the modern history of Ireland can be regarded by a true Irishman with greater delight than that general and cordial peace which you have established in every quarter of your great county.

But, fellow-countrymen, since that peace has been fully ratified—since that admirable harmony has been made to extend through the South of Ireland—since you have done all that you have been required by Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association to do—that Association, which watches your interests with the deepest anxiety—which is bound in honour and in duty to watch for your safety, cannot regard, without apprehensions for the result, the continuance of those processions—the immense assemblies and the disciplined array, the almost military precision; and the marchings and counter-marchings through various parts of your county. And what is your object? We know that you are ready to meet the enemy of your king and country, when called upon by the voice of your Sovereign, as Irishmen always do, with bravery and devotion—we know that you harbour no wrong in your minds—we know you to be what you are, generous, ardent, and confiding; but we know too, that the wolf is on the walk; that you have enemies anxious for an opportunity of doing you evil, and in-

flirting injury upon your cause; that there are persons desirous to take advantage of these immense assemblies of men; that there are persons who, if they cannot provoke you to violate the peace themselves, are eager to alarm the government.

Fellow-countrymen! we believe that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is deeply solicitous for your welfare, and most anxious to promote the liberties of our country,—But we have reason, at the same time, to be assured, that many applications for the exercise of those powers with which he is invested have been made at the seat of government. The alarm caused by your assemblages, so often, in such numbers and with such array, has been represented, we believe, to his Excellency, with designs inimical to your safety. We, ourselves, fellow-countrymen, feel it difficult to answer for the continuance of tranquillity. We know, indeed, that the peace will not be violated by you; but at the same time do not doubt that a system of annoyance and of exasperation may be practised against you, with such wicked artifice that you will not be able to restrain your own feelings, or to avoid the natural, but under the circumstances of the country, what would prove to be a fatal reaction.

How, then, are you to avoid such a calamity as this would prove to yourselves, to us, and to the nation? There is one way, and a simple one, fellow-countrymen, discontinue your meetings.

You have already obtained your great object—you have made peace amongst yourselves—preserve that peace. You may return the men of your own selection for the county. Cherish that right which you have

earned by your unanimity. These are the great ends for which Mr. O'Connell addressed you; these are the great ends which you promised him you would accomplish. You have achieved this victory.

Nothing now remains for you to do, but to listen to the voice of your Association and to obey the recommendation.

The Association advises you, then, to give up your meeting; they implore of you to attend to this their most solemn recommendation. *Your safety and the cause of the country depend in a great measure on your compliance.*

And finally, fellow-countrymen, attend to those pious and exemplary men, whose whole lives are devoted to your temporal and spiritual welfare—the pastors of your holy and persecuted, but eternal church.

Mr. O'Connell himself will address you. In the mean time, until his powerful voice is heard in Tipperary, we have felt it our bounden duty to warn you of the danger which surrounds you.

JOHN MULLINS, P. P., Kilkenny, Chairman.

NICHOLAS P. O'GORMAN, Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.*

* To give a similar spirit might extend itself to the North, a very able and powerful address (drawn up by a Mr. Brady, a most distinguished young Catholic barrister) embodying similar feelings, and inculcating the necessity of peace and tranquillity, was submitted to the Association, approved of, and widely circulated in the North, antecedent to Mr. Lawless's mission.

*Address of Daniel O'Connell to the People of the
County of Tipperary.*

Derrinane Abbey, 30th Sept. 1828.

Beloved Brothers!

It was late last night when I received the command of the Catholic Association of Ireland to address you. My first business this morning is thus to obey that command.

I address you, in the first place, with the most heartfelt affection and gratitude. I have laboured already twenty-eight years in the great "Catholic cause," and I have at length been rewarded for it. By whom have I been so rewarded?

PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY, BY YOU.

Yes—you have rewarded me. I will tell you how: You obeyed my advice as if it were a command. I advised you to give up factious fights and quarrels—you have given them up. I advised you to abstain from party feuds and riots—you have abstained from them. I advised you to forgive one another, and to be reconciled to each other—you have, at my advice, forgiven each other, and have become friends and brothers. My friends, my brothers, I thank you. I advised you to cease from injuring your fellow-creatures, and, above all, to shudder lest you should continue to offend the great and good God. Oh! may that merciful God, who certainly will one day judge us all for eternal bliss or everlasting misery—may that merciful and good God

pour down his choicest blessings on the worthy people of the county of Tipperary.

You have obeyed my advice—you have prevailed amongst yourselves—you have prevented whiteboy crimes or nocturnal depredations. Sincerely do I thank you! Persevere, dear friends—my beloved brothers and sisters, as we promised at the Clonmel meeting, to open the gaol door, and fling the key into the sea.

But, my beloved Brothers and Sisters, I come again to advise you. In making no more large meetings. My opinion is, that the first in holding such meetings, be the first to be hanged, as I advised, in perfect obedience to the law, without the least violence or outrage. If you were so kind as to call yourselves a meeting, no police ever behaved themselves so well, kept the peace with half so much good humour.

But the time is come to discontinue the meetings. For the present year, let them be discontinued.

Halt, therefore, my beloved friends and brothers. I give you the word of command, and, for the present, let those public meetings be discontinued.

In the mean time, depend upon me. The Association will not slumber over you. I myself shall not be idle. We will maintain our rights peaceably and constitutionally, but we will be vigorous, to assert your rights, as

Catholics of Ireland that justice which is due to us, and which is all we want.

Will you not listen to my voice? Will you not follow the advice I give you? I venture to promise that you will listen to the advice that comes from a friend—from a brother, who has no other object under heaven but to obtain justice for the professors of the Catholic faith, and liberty and happiness for the people of Ireland.

You know that I am your friend—you know that my life has been devoted to your service—you know that I have been the active enemy of Orange injustice and Orange oppression. I have opposed the Orangemen, laughed at them, and, with the aid of the Catholic Association, protected many of the Catholics of the North against them, and brought the guilty to shame, and some of them to punishment.

I am your friend. I am the enemy of oppression, bigotry, and tyranny. As your friend, I advise you—I entreat you—allow me to add, I order you, to discontinue large and general meetings for the present year, and not to expose yourselves to the machinations of your enemies, or the treachery of pretended friends.

In the mean time, and before the next summer comes, I trust that the accursed flag of Orange oppression will be laid in the dust for ever. I trust that Irishmen of every class and of every sect and persuasion, will become friends and brothers, and that our lovely native land, green Erin, of the rivers and streams, will be the abode of peace and happiness and liberty.

Yes, my friends, I can venture to promise, that if you obey the advice of the Catholic Association—if you

follow the counsels that I give you at hand, and that within the space of at the utmost, we shall see all we shall see throughout Ireland—

“ Happy homes and altars”

Commit no crime. Be not guilty. Discontinue large meetings. Hold no whatsoever. Have no secret societies. Secrecy in political matters is in itself a fruitful source of every crime. Be no whatsoever. The Catholic Association, the Orangemen and the Whiteboys have accordingly blood and murder and iniquity are produced by them.

Our instructions to you are published on you to discontinue for the present all public meetings. Let parties be restricted to their respective parishes, but let not one man go into any other parish for that purpose. If this warning go into any other parish of a public procession or meeting, do not believe me he is not a friend. He is a spy. Treat him with contempt and distrust him as a brother, but deal with him as a spy.

Discontinue, therefore, immediately all large meetings. Discontinue them cheerfully at once.

Listen as men of sense to the instructions. Meetings should be discontinued.

First,—Your most valuable and

poor man's best friends, all join in advising you to discontinue them. Did they ever give you bad advice? Never. Did you ever regret that you followed the advice they gave you? Never. When have you disregarded their advice without being sorry for it afterwards? Never. Follow then the advice of your pious and exemplary clergy, and discontinue those meetings.

Secondly,—The Catholic Association of Ireland advises and orders you to discontinue those meetings. That body constitutes the most honest and patriotic assembly that ever yet met to advance the cause of civil and religious liberty. That honest, patriotic, and pure body, the Catholic Association of Ireland, advise and command you to discontinue those meetings. Obey their advice as if it were a command.

Thirdly,—I, your faithful friend, advise you immediately to discontinue those meetings. I have laboured for you for twenty-eight long years, and am going to parliament that I may be able to do you some effectual good. I ought to know what is useful to you, and I do most solemnly assure you that nothing could be more injurious to you than having any more of those large meetings for the present. You took my advice before—the Catholic people in many parts of Ireland take my advice—discontinue those large meetings.

Fourthly,—It is the wish of the honest and patriotic part of the present government that you should discontinue those meetings. The Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Anglesey, is a sincere friend of the peace and prosperity of Ireland; he is, what you all like and love—as brave a soldier as ever wielded a sword; he is most

desirous to produce peace, tranquillity in Ireland. He is anxious to put down every kind and crime of every description. Orangemen hate and fear him—they do not respect him—it is necessary, in order to fulfil must be his wishes, that those crimes should be discontinued. Discontinue the military service of the noble and brave Marquess of Anglesea, to serve our country, to put down every description, and to do his duty to the people, by seeing Ireland tranquil.

Fifthly,—Let me, as a fifth recommendation, have also in the government a man of sense and right chancellor. Under his control, the conduct of the country. The Catholics, the friends of Lord Manners, suffered a great deal from the magistrates. Let us be grateful to him, and show that gratitude, by our support of the law. Let us, therefore, discontinue the large meetings, which are injurious to him, and injurious to the great people are engaged.

Sixthly,—Let me also tell you that I have given your government another manly, independent, and honest friend to the people, Lord Francis Leveson Gower. I could not displease him more, in the course of his honest exertions, than by the large meetings. Instead of being necessarily make him your enemy, I give you good advice as is thus given you.

those meetings after you are thus emphatically and earnestly called on to desist.

Seventhly,—In proportion as the Catholics and the friends of the Catholics are anxious to put an end to those meetings, in the same proportion are the Orangemen desirous that they should be continued. The Orangemen wish that you should disobey the Catholic Association. The Orangemen wish to commit you with the government, and against the law. We desire that you should cultivate the esteem of a friendly government, and strictly obey the law. I need not ask which you will obey, the Catholic Association, or gratify the Orangemen. I am ready to pledge my life for it, that you will obey us, that you will confide in our affection for you, and, as we ask it, you will at once discontinue those meetings.

Eighthly,—The Orangemen have assumed a new denomination. Some of them call themselves Brunswick clubs, but they are better and more appropriately known by the appellation of “Blood-hound clubs,” because they seek to continue an unjust and odious monopoly, by shedding the blood of the people. These wicked and sanguinary men have subscribed large sums of money for purposes which they, depraved though they be, are ashamed to avow—but which must be, amongst other bad intents, to hire spies and informers, and other wretches, who would mingle amongst the people, instigate them to acts of violence, fabricate false plots and conspiracies, and betray the people in every way to their enemies. These “blood-hounds” wish that you should continue those large meetings, in order that by means

of their own spies and informers the opportunity to shed your blood. If I disobey the advice of the Catholics, I tell me that such men must be in their hands." I implore of you to treat

Ninthly and lastly,—If you dissent from the Catholic Association, and if you repent, entreaty, we must at once desert you. It would be with the grace of God we should desert or abandon the cause. But we ask yourselves, what else would you refuse to listen to the honest advice for your own good and for the best of the cause, why it will in that case be to abandon you, but actually to resist what you are taking.

But, my friends, my brothers, my people of the county of Tipperary, that you will obey us. I firmly believe that would have been sufficient to produce peace. You know there is no use in being disobedient unless you have the virtue of piety. Without subordination it would be to serve the peace amongst yourselves, the recurrence of crimes and outrages, to bring you with guilt, bring down desertion, and give a triumph to your bitter enemies, "the blood-hounds" of In-

Allow us of the Catholic Association, that great Catholic cause to final success, that success daily; and I tell you w

cess, unless the people themselves, by some misconduct, prevent us. Is there a single honest man amongst you that would not bitterly regret his disobedience, if it were—as it certainly would be—the means of preventing the success of the Catholic cause, which involves in itself the very principle of freedom of conscience all over the world?

Rely on the Catholic Association; we will not sleep on our posts:—we desire to obtain liberty for the Irish people; but we desire to do it by raising the moral and religious character of that people. Liberty, glorious liberty, is within our reach, if we will only deserve it. Let me strongly advise you to be regular and constant in your various duties; consider no man as worthy of being called “a friend and brother,” but a man who is observant of the rules and practices of his religion—who is honest, conscientious, and moral in his conduct—who is, according to his relations of life, a good son to his parents, a good brother to his sisters, a loving and kind husband to his wife, and a tender and careful father to his children. We disclaim the assistance of the idle, the profligate, the vicious. Religious and moral men are those alone who can regenerate Ireland, and I am sure there are amongst you *many, many, very many* such friends to liberty and Old Ireland.

The greatest enemy we can have is the man who commits any crime against his fellow-man, or any offence in the sight of his God. The greatest enemy of the liberty of Ireland is the man who violates the law in any respect, or breaks the peace, or commits any outrage whatsoever.

My friends, my beloved brothers, cultivate your moral and religious duties. Avoid every kind of crime ; avoid, as you would a pestilence, all secret societies, all illegal oaths ; seize upon any man who proposes to you to become a member of any secret society, or proposes to you any oath or engagement of a party or political nature. I denounce every such man to you as a " blood-hound " in disguise. Treat him as such, and drag him before a magistrate for prosecution and punishment.

Rely on it also that I will not lose sight of the great work of the pacification of the county of Tipperary. I am proud of having begun that great and glorious work. We, my friends and brothers, will not leave that work unfinished. You will, I am sure, desist from those large and unnecessary meetings ; and I promise you to mature a more useful plan. That plan, when matured, I will submit to the Catholic Association of Ireland ; and if it meets the approbation of that learned, intelligent, and most patriotic body, I am sure you will adopt it, and that it will spread all over the land.

The outline of that plan will be to divide the people for all political, moral, and religious purposes, into numbers not exceeding one hundred and twenty. That these one hundred and twenty should elect amongst themselves a person to take charge of the whole under the name of a " pacificator." No man to be a " pacificator " but a man regular in his religious duties, and at least a monthly communicant. The " pacificator " to have power to nominate two persons, to be called " regulators," under him, and the three to be responsible that no crime or outrage or violation of the law should

be committed by any of the one hundred and twenty. On the contrary, that they should assist in the preservation of the peace, in the prevention of all crimes—in the suppression of all illegal societies—in the collection of the Catholic Rent, and in all other useful, legal, and honest purposes.

It would be part of my plan, that the name and residence of each "pacificator" should be transmitted to every neighbouring magistrate and police station, and advertised in the newspapers, and enrolled in the books of the Catholic Association.

I mention this faint outline of my plan, merely to show you that if the Orangemen and Brunswick bloodhounds proceed in their sanguinary career, we shall easily find legal and constitutional means to counteract them, and to protect the people against them, and to set them at defiance.

Observe, however, that this plan is not yet adopted by the Catholic Association—until it is, it will not be carried into effect any where. As soon as I reach Dublin, I will return thither speedily—I will bring forward my plan of "General Pacification."

Obey the laws; follow the advice of the Catholic Association; listen to the counsels I give you; discontinue, I know you will discontinue, those large meetings; avoid secret societies and illegal oaths; contribute, according to your means, to that sacred and national fund, the Catholic Rent; cultivate your moral duties; attend seriously and solemnly to your holy and divine religion.

You will thus exalt yourselves as men and as Chris-

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tians. Bigotry and oppression will wither from amongst us. A parental government, now held out to us, will compensate for centuries of misrule. We will plant in our native land the constitutional tree of liberty. That noble tree will prosper and flourish in our green and fertile country. It will extend its protecting branches all over this lovely island. Beneath its sweet and sacred shade, the universal people of Ireland, Catholics, and Protestants, and Presbyterians, and Dissenters of every class; will sit in peace, and union, and tranquillity. Commerce and trade will flourish; industry will be rewarded; and the people, contented and happy, will see Old Ireland—what she ought to be,

Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth, first gem of the sea.

Believe me, beloved friends, to be your devoted servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL,
Of the Order of Liberators.

A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant-General and Governor of Ireland.

ANGLESEY.

Whereas, in certain counties in this part of the United Kingdom, meetings of large numbers of his Majesty's subjects have been lately held, consisting of persons both on foot and on horseback, coming together from various and distant parts and places, acting in concert and under the command of leaders, and assuming the appearance of military array and discipline, or

exhibiting other marks and symbols of illegal concert and union, to the great danger of the public peace, and to the well-founded terror and dread of his Majesty's peaceable and well-disposed subjects ;

And whereas we have received information that, in other parts, certain persons have been passing through the country, provoking and exciting the assemblage of large bodies of people, for no purpose known to the law, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects, and the endangering of the public peace and safety ;

And whereas the meeting and assembling together in such numbers, and in such manner as aforesaid, and thereby occasioning such dread and terror, and endangering the public peace, is a manifest offence and an open breach of the law, and such unlawful assemblies ought therefore to be suppressed and put down ;

And whereas many well-affected but unwary persons may be seduced by divers specious pretences given out for the holding of such assemblies, and in ignorance of the law, to frequent the same ;

We, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant-general and General-governor of Ireland, being resolved to suppress and put down such illegal meetings, and to prevent the recurrence thereof, have thought fit to issue this proclamation, solemnly and strictly warning all his Majesty's liege subjects from henceforth to discontinue the holding or attending any such meetings or assemblies as aforesaid ; and do charge and earnestly exhort them, to the utmost of their power, to discountenance all meetings and assemblies of a similar nature, and thereby to prevent the dangers and mischief consequent on the same ;

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and being determined and resolved strictly to enforce the law, and the penalties thereof, against persons offending in the premises, do charge and command all sheriffs, mayors, justices of the peace, and all other magistrates, officers, and others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law, in preventing such meetings and assemblies from being held, and in the effectual dispersion and suppression of the same, and in the detection and protection of those who, after this notice, shall offend in respects aforesaid.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 30th day of September, 1828.

By his Majesty's command,

F. L. GOWER,

No. XXVIII.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS, &c.

At a Meeting held at Harmony Hall, New York, July 6, 1826, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That the persons assembled at this meeting form themselves into a society, for the three following purposes:—1st, The establishment of a rent, in order to co-operate the more effectually with those illustrious individuals in Ireland, who are desirous to accomplish the emancipation of their country.—2nd, To give efficient expression to our sympathy for the oppressed, and our in-

dignation at the conduct of the oppressors.—3rd, To address the free and enlightened nations of the earth on the subject of Ireland's wrongs and England's intolerance—to proclaim to them that the enemy of religious toleration must be inimical to the universal law of nations.

ROBERT SWANTON, Chairman.

At a meeting of the friends of Ireland, convened agreeably to public notice, held on Friday evening the 1st of August, 1828, at the Masonic Hall, Broadway,

Dr. Macnevin was called to the chair, and

James Shea was appointed secretary ;

The chairman explained the object of calling the meeting, with a eulogium on the patriotism and public spirit displayed by the Irish forty-shilling freeholders at the late general election in Ireland—whereupon it was unanimously

Resolved, That in the boldness of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland, so independently exemplified at the late election of representatives to parliament, we discover with high satisfaction a new evidence that Ireland is not deficient in the materials for forming a great people: the men who have conquered their dictating landlords—have subdued the most powerful of their enemies;—they who have dared under the apprehension of a persecution scarcely endurable to oppose their would-be-masters, have undoubtedly the courage to resist tyranny whencesoever it may come. The stern honesty of the forty-shilling freeholder gives assurance, on which we may rely, that at no very distant day his virtue will be rewarded by the regeneration of his country.

Resolved, That an Association be immediately formed, to be styled "The Association of the Friends of Ireland, in the city of New York."

Resolved, That a committee of shall be appointed to draft such rules as may be necessary for the regulation of the Association now formed, and report the same to a general meeting, to be called by said committee, as soon as convenient.

The blank was then filled with the following names; viz. Dr. Macnevin, Judge Swanton, Counsellor O'Connor, John Doyle, and James Shea.

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to write an opening address for the Association.

Resolved, That a list be taken of the names of individuals now present, wishing to become members of the Association—whereupon about one hundred names were recorded.

JAMES SHEA, Secretary.

Boston, 1828.

At the semi-annual public meeting of the Hibernian Relief Society, held at Boylston Hall, on Monday evening, 6th inst., the following resolutions, offered by the Rev. Mr. Byrne, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a special meeting of the society be on Monday evening, the 20th inst.

Resolved, That a remittance be made to the Catholic Association in Dublin, by the packet of the 1st of November, or sooner, if convenient, after the special meeting.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed

to examine the treasurer's accounts, and report at the special meeting the amount of the society's funds, after deducting what may be due for expenses.

Resolved, That the names of all the members who shall have paid all their assessments, be transmitted with the remittance.

Resolved, That donations be received, as well from members as from others who wish to aid the people of Ireland in their struggles for civil and religious liberty.

Resolved, That the said donation be acknowledged, by having the name of each donor, and the amount given by him, published in one or more of the Boston newspapers.

Resolved, That a separate list of the names of donors be transmitted to Ireland, and the amount given by each annexed to his name.

Resolved, That the trustees be requested to exert themselves in procuring donations, and also in calling upon members who may be in arrears to pay in their assessments.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to draw up an address or letter to accompany our remittance, and congratulating Daniel O'Connell upon his election to Parliament, and that such letter or address be read at the special meeting.

Resolved, That the said special meeting shall be a public one, and that all donations there received shall be recorded and announced from the chair.

Committees were then appointed agreeably to the above resolutions.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Association of persons of all nations, and without distinction of creed or party, has been formed for the sole purpose of aiding the people of Ireland in the recovery of their civil and religious liberties. They have taken upon themselves the title of "The Association of the Friends of Ireland in New York." They deem it of importance to address you as freemen, as Christians, and as the promoters of liberal principles, in behalf of that people who may justly claim your notice, your sympathy, and your assistance. Their subject is the enslavement of a people possessing, in common with yourselves, consciousness of right, sensibility to injustice, and a deep conviction of the cruelty of that oppression which would devise and enforce laws to bind the conscience in matters of religious belief, which would deprive man of his political privileges, for asserting his mental independence.

Americans! people of the United States! we call upon you by all those endearing ties which bind man to his brother: by those obligations which are esteemed the most sacred among the most enlightened nations: in the name of that divine charity which directs the sensibilities of the heart beyond the limits of home: we call upon you in the spirit of true Christianity, which extends its benevolence to all men: by that enlarged sense of gratitude which delights to acknowledge sacrifices and benefits: we call upon you to extend your pecuniary aid to the cause of civil and religious liberty in Ireland. Her people ask your aid—not as a favour,

but as a right. They are your brothers, and cannot justly be denied: they have claims upon your gratitude: they are entitled to your assistance: they are oppressed by harsh and illiberal laws, and they appeal to you as to a people who, by the peculiar felicity of your fortunes, are constituted the arbiters between the oppressor and the oppressed—are placed conspicuous among nations, as the preservers and dispensers of free principles. *Their fathers* have fought and bled side by side with *your fathers*—have died with *them* to obtain for you that liberty which you now enjoy. May the debt which you owed to the fathers, be now paid to the children!

The services of Irishmen have been pre-eminent where-soever the standard of freedom hath been unfurled to the breeze. Alas! their exertions have only been unsuccessful in emancipating their own land! On the plains of revolutionary France; on the wild pampas of Peru; amid the dark defiles of the snow-clad Andes; upon the island shores of classic Greece, they have proved their devotion to the rights of man—they have sealed with their blood their covenant with freedom. Thus, far from their own green isle, they have died for strangers;—and their bones now whiten in the sun on fields where the glory of dying in the cause of universal emancipation, was their incentive to exertion; where the hope that their sacrifices would be remembered by the world in favour of their native land, when *her* call for assistance should go forth, was at once their reward and their consolation.

But especially have Irishmen aided in obtaining and preserving the liberties of that country whose cordial

~~reception and generous protection have almost repaid~~ them for the loss of their own. In that memorable revolution which conferred upon these United States independence and glory, power and prosperity—for their bravery, their fortitude, and their incorruptible constancy, Irishmen were not surpassed even by native Americans. The venerable Ramsay has published to the world in his elegant history of that revolution, that *then* “Irishmen were famous, but the sons of Irishmen were conspicuous.”

We deem it unnecessary to enumerate those brave and gifted men whom Ireland sent to the aid of your fathers during that momentous struggle against tyranny; or to dwell upon their exploits. We address you as an intelligent people. We appeal with confidence to your knowledge of the brightest pages which history presents; of those which describe the battles, the sufferings and the sacrifices of your brave fathers and their equally brave compatriots, during that glorious war. Come forward, then, and declare your knowledge of that history, and the estimation in which you hold those services, by assisting the children of those Irishmen to break the degrading chains which oppress their consciences and confine their minds. Contribute to the sacred fund of this Association; enable the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland to avail themselves of that important franchise secured by the act of Union. ~~The time is~~ auspicious; the only danger will arise from ~~delays~~. Greece had claims upon your sympathy—Ireland hath demands upon your justice. Assist her peasantry to maintain their rightful advantage against the local aristocrats, and the slave-drivers of the absentees; and

an event, unparalleled in the annals of the world, shall occur—a revolution conferring the blessings of toleration, and all the immunities that gave value to existence, upon seven millions of people, without the shedding of blood, and without the dismemberment of an empire!

Ireland is, at length, united for this great purpose. Her unity is what her oppressors have ever dreaded—it is irresistible. It frustrates the secret operations of their *dividing system*. Come forward, people of free America! and by aiding with your accustomed liberality a cause in which all good men, without distinction of sect, country, or party, must agree, share in the eternal glory of giving civil and religious freedom—not to any set or party, but to your fellow-men—to immortal beings like yourselves—to *the people of Ireland*.

Published by order of the Association of “The Friends of Ireland in New York.”

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President.

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH.

(Translated from the *Courier des Etats Unis*.)

The friends of Ireland, desirous of aiding by their countenance and contributions the efforts now making in Ireland for the attainment of civil and religious liberty, still denied to its Catholic inhabitants, respectfully acquaint their French fellow-citizens that an association of persons of liberal principles, of all nations, has been formed with that sole object.

The people of France, for ages past, have been the generous friends and benefactors of the Irish, whom re-

ligious persecution tore from their native homes. In France they found a country: its hospitality was ever open to them; and though no nation possesses more talent, valour, and great qualities of its own, the Irish were always admitted without jealousy or reluctance to civil and military employments, and to all sorts of preferment under the government of France. With these facts in our memory, and engraven on our hearts, we cannot, without inconsistency and an appearance of ingratitude, to which we are strangers, pass over in silence our French brethren on this interesting occasion. The French enjoy liberty, and love it; they hate oppression, and can appreciate the political exertions of Ireland, and sympathise with her wrongs. We flatter ourselves too that Frenchmen entertain gratifying recollections of the return made by Irishmen, at all times, for the asylum they received; proving themselves gallant in war, faithful in peace, deserving the entire confidence with which they were always honoured by their generous and kind friends. It is for this we address them.—To become a member of the Association it is only requisite to sign the constitution, pay one dollar initiation, and twelve and a half cents per month. Its meetings are held at Tammany Hall, one every Wednesday evening.

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President.

New York.

THE ADDRESS OF THE LADIES OF MARYLAND TO THE FEMALES OF THE UNITED STATES.*

At a momentous period, when all the civilised world turns with interest and astonishment to view the strug-

* Published by the Ladies of the Society of Maryland.

gle of seven millions of people for their legal rights—at a moment when so many hands are raised in supplication, and so many hearts breathe their prayers, to obtain from the Lord of Hosts an emancipation from a bondage the most galling, shall we remain unconcerned spectators, while a generous feeling pervades the minds of all patriots?—No, beloved sisters, it shall never be said, that humanity and Christian benevolence have pervaded our bosoms!—it shall never be said, that women, in whose hearts “tender compassion ever loves to dwell,” shall remain deaf to the voice of misfortune, in its most distressing forms! Shall we, dwelling in this region of happiness and peace, forget our fellow-creatures in a foreign land, bound to some of us all by the common laws of nature; the children of the same Almighty Father, whom we are all enjoined to assist, by the holy precept of the same Divine Redeemer, “to love our neighbour as ourselves?”—To you, daughters of Columbia, I need not expatiate on political motives; to you, it is sufficient to recall to your memory, that some of our most eminent patriots, that some of our bravest defenders during the glorious struggle for our independence, were natives of Ireland—that Ireland, the land of the brave, the land of oppressed humanity, the land of hospitality, and of all the virtues religion inspires!—that land whose suffering inhabitants I solicit you to assist, by all the just claims they have on your most grateful feelings, for their blood freely shed in the hour of peril, and the enthusiastic devotedness they have ever evinced for the country of their adoption. Dear to them are the gifts received from the hands of

freemen of all nations and of all creeds; but dearer and sweeter shall be the offerings of female tenderness on the altar of freedom.

Daughters of all the nations of the earth, residing in these happy states, on you we call! on you who, blessed with the advantages of health and education, can so well contribute by the sacrifice of some useless purchase. To you, whose daily labour supplies your daily wants, we call to spare one mite, which, like "the widow's mite," will be more appreciated "than all that was before cast into the treasury." Blessed with the approbation of your conscience, delightful will be the recollection, that for a trifling sacrifice of your pleasures, or your conveniences, you will have contributed to the happiness of thousands. You will have been the instruments in the hands of Divine Providence to aid in effecting the emancipation of a nation, of whom may we soon exclaim, in the energetic language of Curran, "that she stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the genius of universal emancipation."

Daughters of Erin, on you more particularly do we call, to perform the sacred duty of tendering your heart-felt gifts to the beloved land of your nativity;—that dear native soil, to which memory turns with delight, the scene of all your early joys and purest pleasures! Cold indeed and insensible must be the heart that can forget it, and unworthy of her country must she be who heeds not her call in the crisis of her destiny! Yet, what do we say? Shall your hearts alone vibrate to the hallowed appeal? No; those ties bind other hearts, as tenderly, as truly as your own! Never shall the widow

cease to remember that the loved and lamented partner of her youth was a native of the Emerald Isle. Shall then the descendant of an Irish family forget the affinity which connects her with the sages, the orators, the poets, the noble peasantry, whose patriotism and long-suffering reflect honour on their kindred and their names? with the modest daughters of that "sweetest gem of the ocean," whose charms and exemplary virtues adorn the lowly cottage as well as the splendid hall? No, sisters; united in one common cause, we shall make no distinction of country or religion; no prejudices or political opinions shall sway us; one heart-felt impulse shall alone animate us—the duties of humanity and the delights of benevolence. Behold where New York exhibits to our view the names of many females inscribed on the proud records of those freemen, who unite their efforts in the cause of civil and religious liberty! Shall we (some of whom have subscribed for the glorious cause of Greece) refuse or neglect our brethren, whose integrity of conscience has alone reduced them to a state of misery and degradation for so many centuries? Shall we be excelled by a sex whom nature has not endowed with that tender sensibility which characterises our own? No; let the tribute of compassion and sympathy be paid in each city, in each village, of this happy country; the most trifling offering will be accepted.—Should our circumstances fortunately enable us to give bountifully, for "the Lord loveth the cheerful giver," let us hasten to present it. Are our means straitened, let us bestow the mite our poverty allows us, and be the amount applied as the donor shall direct for the benefit of Ireland.

Daughters of every clime, Christians of every sect, we conjure you, arise! in the name of Heaven, religion, and humanity, arise! with all the tender sympathies of your nature, and pour into the treasury of benevolence those offerings most acceptable to the Lord of Hosts, the free gifts of hearts warm with generous feelings, who evince their veneration for their Creator by "loving their neighbours as themselves." We ask not to be enrolled on the records that shall proclaim to a grateful people the names of their friends and benefactors: be our offerings only accepted—the approbation of our own hearts, the benedictions of our fellow-beings, in the "sweetest isle of the ocean," and the glad tidings of her glorious emancipation shall be our most valued reward.

O! may Heaven prosperously grant, that the same feelings which animate our hearts, may inspire you to unite in the performance of this sacred duty!—May the pious and grateful prayers of the orphans and widows you will assist, of the millions whose cause you will advocate, ascend to the throne of the Most High, and may his blessings descend on you as you fulfil his divine injunctions!!!

These addresses were followed by the formation of associations, at Charleston, Sept. 16th; Savannah, Sept. 17th, 1828; at Washington, Sept. 27th; at Brooklyn, Oct. 7th; at Quebec, Augusta, Kingston in Upper Canada, Norfolk in Virginia, Louisville in Kentucky, Maryland, and at Bardstown in Kentucky, in the month of November. These Associations were rapidly extending, and all actuated by the same views

—the collection of pecuniary aid, and rousing the sympathy of every friend of freedom in the cause of Ireland. The lively interest which they appear to have taken in the affairs of this country, has been more than once evinced by the admirable advice and co-operation tendered in their spirited addresses (such for example as those from New York, Charleston, and the city of Augusta) to the Catholic people of Ireland. The discussions upon the first presentation of these documents at the Catholic Association were, it may be recollected, violent and protracted; and from the cautious policy which the Catholics were compelled to pursue, necessarily opposed to a public testimony of their gratitude as a formal act of their body. Subsequently there was less difficulty; and in the case of the address of the city of Augusta, a vote of thanks was, through the indefatigable and patriotic exertions of Mr. Stephen Coppinger, passed, and transmitted through their chairman, Mr. Wyse, to Major-general Montgomerie, who presided at the meeting at Augusta, and to the Right Reverend Dr. England.*

* The following is a copy of the resolution:

“That as the sympathy of the generous and the free must ever be a source of consolation and of hope to the victims of persecution in every country and in every clime, we should consider ourselves unworthy of that sympathy from any portion of the civilized world, did we not hail, with the liveliest sentiments of affection and gratitude, the kind and noble indications of this feeling, evinced in our behalf in the able, powerful, and luminous address to the Catholic Association of Ireland, adopted by the distinguished friends of civil and religious liberty, who assembled in the city of Augusta, in the State of Georgia, on the 2nd of April, 1827; and that we hereby present to them the warmest tribute of our heartfelt thanks, as well for this address, as for the enlightened sentiments which pervaded the meeting at which it was adopted. And while we are convinced that in

NEW YORK.

The Association of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, and of the Friends of Ireland in New York,

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P.

Sir,

By us patriotism is marked amongst the most exalted of human virtues ; and every practical example it affords of usefulness or well-merited zeal, attracts our undivided attention and admiration. With approving sympathy we have long witnessed your strenuous efforts in the service of a wronged country. The lofty ardour, the untiring perseverance, the discretion and magnanimity, which have characterised your labours, encourage the hope that your exertions will yet be rewarded with success.

Impartial observers of the tyranny which has so long enchained unhappy Ireland, we can scarcely give adequate expression to the indignation with which it has inspired us : we have beheld that tyranny supporting itself by cruel discord and extortion ; by extinguishing rights and paralysing industry ; by annihilating commerce, and reducing its victims to imbecility ; then despoiling her legislative assemblies, and tauntingly forcing on her the livery of a province. A crisis, however, approaches ; the hour of Ireland's redemption

thus giving expression to the emotions by which the members of this Association are actuated, we but touch a chord that vibrates in unison with the grateful feelings of eight millions of Irish Catholics. We cannot but contemplate the increased and increasing interest which our situation and sufferings are already exciting on the other side of the Atlantic, as a sure, and perhaps not distant, forerunner of brighter and happier days for Ireland."

is at hand; the eyes of enlightened nations are fixed upon you and your companions; recede not a single step; cement your strength and your purposes; and though still religiously preserving the most inviolable tranquillity, let not your vigilance relax until the minions of corruption abandon their machinations in despair. Yes, Sir, we approve of your exertions, and admire your talents; but the principles you have promulgated in your speeches and writings, are eminently more worthy of our praise. You have, Sir, proclaimed, that your efforts, and those of the Catholic Association, are not designed exclusively for a sect, but extend to all denominations of men. Yours is not a theological controversy, as your enemies would represent it; you have indignantly denied the calumny; you labour for Dissenters as well as Catholics; and we were rejoiced to perceive, that the proudest and most successful of your labours was a convincing illustration of this principle; for the course pursued by the Catholic electors of Clare was intended to manifest their disapprobation of Mr. Fitzgerald's illiberality towards their dissenting countrymen. Again, we say, proceed; while your conduct is marked by such principles, every enlightened friend of his species must ardently wish you success. Circumstances auspicious to your cause are multiplying in every portion of the globe—happy combinations of events are daily arising to aid your hopes. Look far to the east, and to the west, and immediately around you, and feel confident of success. Let the hopes of your nation revive.

Amidst the gloom that has so long lowered over

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Ireland, perhaps it may be no inconsiderable consolation to you and your countrymen to know, that millions of honest and intrepid freemen in this republic regard your condition and your struggles with the highest degree of interest. Public opinion in America is deep, and strong, and universal, in your behalf. This predilection prevails over the broad bosom of our extensive continent. Associations similar to ours are every where starting into existence—in our largest and wealthiest cities—in our hamlets and our villages—in our most remote sections; and at this moment, the propriety of convening at Washington, delegates of the friends of Ireland of all the States, is under serious deliberation. A fund will ere long be derived from American patriotism in the United States, which will astonish your haughtiest opponents. It is our ardent hope that you will continue to preserve the steady purpose in which you have been so long engaged. A sublime trust is reposed in you; a question of surprising interest is consigned to your care. You enjoy the confidence of your countrymen; you consequently possess a commanding influence over their deeds. May you ever exercise this influence with fidelity and effect; with an uncompromising regard for human rights; with a firm allegiance to the cause of liberty; and a never-ceasing hostility to bigots, factionists, and exclusionists, whether of Protestant or Catholic complexion!

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President.

New York, Jan. 20, 1829.

No. XXIX.

Documents read in the course of the Duke of Wellington's Reply to the Marquess of Anglesey in the House of Lords, May 4, 1829.

I.—Lord Anglesey to the Duke of Wellington.

(EXTRACT.) September 24, 1828.

I have known for a considerable time, and a recent communication has strongly corroborated the fact, that the Catholic question may be adjusted at this moment with more facility (upon as good terms, and with as little opposition), on the part both of the bishops and the agitators, than at any other period. I have reason to feel confident that the bishops would be satisfied with very fair terms, in respect to their nomination; that they would only very feebly oppose the payment of the Catholic clergy; and that even upon the much more difficult subject of the forty-shilling freeholders there would only be little resistance.

II.—The Duke of Wellington to Lord Anglesey.

My dear Lord Anglesey,

I have, equally with my colleagues, seen three letters which you have written to Mr. Peel on the Roman Catholic question. I have laid one of them before the King; the other two he has not seen yet, as his Majesty has been unwell; and no immediate necessity existed for laying them before him. But I will lay them be-

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fore the King as soon as he shall be sufficiently well for me to speak to him upon a subject, of which he never hears nor never thinks without being disturbed by it. I have not written to you on this subject, because I had nothing to tell you. As an individual member of parliament, I never will support what is called Catholic emancipation till it shall be brought forward by the government, as government, in a shape to satisfy me that the arrangement proposed will secure the interests of the state. In these I include the church of England. As the King's servant, I, equally with all the servants whom his Majesty has had in his service since the year 1810—that is, the commencement of the unrestricted regency—am bound not to act in this question as the King's minister. The late Mr. Canning embodied in a memorandum, which I have seen, and which was communicated to the members of his government, that which was before that time understood.

From this statement you will see that the first step of all is to reconcile the King's mind to an arrangement. Till that should be done, I should deceive myself, or the person to whom I should address myself, by talking about it at all.

I think, likewise, that I should give just grounds for suspicion to his Majesty, and his servants, and to the Protestants of the empire in general, with whom after all the difficulty of the question rests, if I were to discuss with the Roman Catholic clergy, or the demagogues of the Roman Catholic Association, a plan to be submitted by the government to parliament for the adjustment of this question.

You see the preliminary difficulties attending it ; and I must add, that all those attending the question exist here. These are of a nature quite distinct from those existing in Ireland. Some are of opinion that the difficulties in Ireland will be got the better of by the adjustment of the question. I doubt it. But whether this will be the result or not, it is quite clear that nothing can be done now :—that our affair now, and indeed in Ireland always will be, to preserve the peace, and to insure the loyalty and good-will of all his Majesty's subjects, by protecting the lives and properties of all.

Ever yours, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

III.—Lord Anglesey to Mr. Peel.

July 26th, 1828.

If I should fortunately be enabled, by the advice and warnings I give, to keep this country in a quiet state for a little time longer—if the Association should cease to agitate, and there were to be any thing like an appearance of moderation—I most seriously conjure you to signify an intention of taking the state of Ireland into consideration in the first days of the next session of parliament.

IV.—The Duke of Wellington to Dr. Curtis.

London, Dec. 11th, 1828.

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I

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assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness a settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the state, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately.

If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever your most faithful humble Servant,

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

V. Letter of the Marquess of Anglesey to
Dr. Curtis.

Phoenix Park, Dec. 23rd, 1828.

Most Reverend Sir,

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd, covering that which you received from the Duke of Wellington of the 11th instant, together with a copy of your answer to it.

I thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me.

Your letter gives me information upon a subject of the highest interest. I did not know the precise sen-

timents of the Duke of Wellington upon the present state of the Catholic question.

Knowing it, I shall venture to offer my opinion upon the course that it behoves the Catholics to pursue.

Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony, and prosperity, to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the ensuing session of parliament. I, however, derive some consolation from observing that his Grace is not wholly adverse to the measure; for, if he can be induced to promote it, he, of all men, will have the greatest facility to carry it into effect.

If I am correct in this opinion, it is obviously most important that the Duke of Wellington should be propitiated; that no obstacle that can by possibility be avoided should be thrown in his way; that all personal and offensive insinuations should be suppressed; and that ample allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation.

Difficult it certainly is, for he has to overcome the very strong prejudices and the interested motives of many persons of the highest influence, as well as to allay the real alarms of many of the more ignorant Protestants.

I differ from the opinion of the Duke, that an attempt should be made to "bury in oblivion" the question for a short time—first, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, because, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by

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representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate,* and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-noted.

What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of;—that all anxiety should continue to be manifested;—that all constitutional (in contradistinction to merely legal) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause;—but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated;—that no personal and offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims.

Personality offers no advantage; it effects no good:—on the contrary, it offends; and confirms predisposed aversion. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause—to the growing liberality of mankind. Unfortunately, he has lost some friends, and fortified his enemies, within the last six months, by unmeasured and unnecessary violence. He will soonest recover from the

* I was literally inaccurate in imagining and asserting that the word *agitate* did not occur in the letter, but I was substantially and logically correct in saying that I did not recommend the Catholics to *agitate*. Where that word occurs, it is put into the mouth of their enemies, who are supposed, in a certain contingency, to be taunting and reproaching them.

I do not say, "I advise you to agitate;" but I say, "if you are quite silent, your enemies (who describe your fair and constitutional exertions by the word *agitation*, meant in an offensive sense) will cry out, that you have ceased to *agitate*, because they have been firm and peremptory."—A.

present stagnation of his fortunes, by showing more temper, and by trusting to the legislature for redress.

Brute force, he should be assured, can effect nothing. It is the legislature that must decide this great question; and my greatest anxiety is, that it shall be met by the parliament under the most favourable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic emancipation shall be disarmed by the patient forbearance as well as by the unwearied perseverance of its advocates.

My warm anxiety to promote the general interests of this country, is the motive that has induced me to give an opinion, and to offer advice.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) ANGLESEY.

To the Most Rev. Dr. Curtis, &c.

VI.—Letter of the Most Reverend Dr. Curtis, in answer to the preceding of the Marquess of Anglesey.*

Drogheda, Dec. 25, 1828.

My Lord,

I have this moment the honour of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 23rd inst. returning to me his Grace the Duke of Wellington's communications, and conveying your own admirable, kind, and patriotic sentiments on the Catholic question, with most friendly advice concerning the proper means to be adopted for promoting that cause, and for sedulously avoiding such violent measures, as have already injured, and may, if not corrected, eventually ruin it.

* This letter has never before been printed.

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Vouchsafe, my Lord, to accept my unfeigned thanks for this excess of condescension, and real goodness of heart, of which I find no precedent at all similar in any Chief Governor that this ill-fated country has ever before had; but I am peculiarly grateful for so extraordinary a mark of your Excellency's confidence reposed in me, which shall not be deceived or disappointed, but end by a suitable return of fidelity and attentive caution.

I have, however, taken the liberty (which I confide your Excellency will approve) of communicating the purport of your letter (as I had of the Duke of Wellington's) to my chief confidential friend and *confrère*, the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, R. C., Bishop of Dublin, whom I have always found to be a most capable, safe, and pious prelate, and the best qualified I know for aiding me to induce the popular leaders of the Roman Catholic body, and others, in and out of the Catholic Association, to pursue a more moderate course of proceeding than they had sometimes hitherto done, and thereby caused, as they well know, no small pain to Dr. Murray and to me.

I hope I may not be considered as obtrusive in taking the liberty humbly to recommend that worthy and amiable prelate to your Excellency's notice, should any thing occur, on the present or any future occasion, in which his co-operation might be considered useful;—for all such purposes, as indeed for every thing else, Dr. Murray would be, not only more at hand, but much more efficient than I could be, that am sinking under a weight of years to the grave.

I was really astonished, and cannot as yet conceive,

how your Excellency, overwhelmed with so many important affairs, could possibly find time, or submit to the trouble of writing with your own hand the long letter I have just been honoured with; so remarkable for its solidity and prudent benevolence, that I am confident that even the warmest Catholic agitators, if they heard it read, would gratefully acquiesce with me in every syllable it contains; even independently of your Excellency's assurances of personal attachment to the Catholic cause, with which they would necessarily be delighted beyond description; for, in effect, your sentiments are so highly favourable, that I could not wish them, nor could they possibly be more so, unless your Excellency became an ultra partisan of the cause, and consequently incapable of rendering it any real service in your present elevated station.

I have the honour to remain, with the utmost respect and sincere gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

(Signed)

P. CURTIS.

To his Excellency the Marquess of Anglesey,
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

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No. XXX.

BRUNSWICK CLUBS.

I.—*Dublin University Brunswick Club.**

At a meeting held at Morrison's Rooms, on Friday, the 7th instant, pursuant to resolution of the 28th ult., to form a Brunswick Constitutional Club of the Graduates of the University of Dublin, Dr. Hodgkinson, Vice-Provost, having been unavoidably detained during the early part of the day, the chair was taken in his absence by

LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEMAINE.

Previous to the business of the day, it was moved by Colonel Irwin, A. B., and seconded by Joseph Napier, Esq. A. M.—

That, as a proper preliminary to the regular proceedings of the day, the meeting do express their heart-felt gratitude to the Rev. Charles Boyton, for his manly and constitutional conduct in having aroused, not only

* The name of Brunswick Club, is selected from the many which had previously been established in almost every part of Ireland, being in its nature and means of support most calculated to influence the future destinies of Ireland. In the very wide extension of these pernicious sources of private feud and animosities of the most uncharitable character, it may be remarked, that the city of Waterford formed an almost solitary and truly honourable exception, notwithstanding the attempts which were made to introduce such a system of irritation and bad feeling.

the Protestant spirit of the University, but of the whole country.

The following resolution then passed unanimously:

1st Resolution,—Proposed by the Venerable Archdeacon of Lismore, seconded by the Rev. Marcus Beresford—

That the graduates of the University of Dublin feel themselves called on to unite, at the present important crisis, not from any principle of offence, but solely for defence; and that it is the bounden duty of every graduate of the University to stand fearlessly forward in defence of that church which the University was established to support—in defence of those laws, the dispensers of which that University was established to provide, and in defence of that religion, which that University was established to inculcate and disseminate.

2nd Resolution,—Proposed by Robert M'Loughlin, Esq., A.B., seconded by Charles Lendrick, Esq., L.L.D., and M.D.—

That a society be now formed, entitled the Brunswick Constitutional Club of the Graduates of the University of Dublin; the principles of the club to be such as necessarily flow from a determination to preserve our Protestant constitution, and maintain the Protestant institutions of the country in their present integrity.

3rd Resolution,—Proposed by George Moore, Esq., L.L.D., and M.P., seconded by the Rev. T. P. Magee, L.L.D.—

That all graduates of the University not amenable to college discipline, as well as all others, become such by their *ad eundem* privilege, who are now present, and

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who are willing to subscribe to the foregoing resolutions, be admitted members of the club, on payment of a subscription not less than half-a-guinea, nor more than one guinea annually, in advance; and that all graduates who may hereafter wish to join the club shall be eligible on the recommendation of three members.

4th Resolution,—Proposed by the Rev. J. Stack, A. B., and F. T. C. D., seconded by William Kellock Tatam, Esq., A. B.—

That his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Chancellor of our University, and L. L. D., be requested to become patron of the club.

5th Resolution,—Proposed by Frederick de Butts, Esq., A. M., seconded by Richard Handcock, Esq., A. B., and M. P.—

That Francis Hodgkinson, Esq., L. L. D., and Vice-Provost of our University, be requested to accept the office of President of the club, and that the following noblemen and gentlemen be requested to accept the office of Vice-Presidents of the club:—

Earl of Enniskillen	Rev. John Darley, A. B., and F. T. C. D.
Earl of Carrick	Venerable Archdeacon of Lismore
Viscount Castlemaine	Rev. John Crostwaite, B. D.
Lord Edward Chichester	Rev. H. Maxwell, A. B.
Sir Edward Hulse, Bart.	Sergeant Lefroy, L. L. D.
Rev. George Vallar, D. D.	George Ogle Moore, Esq., L. L. D., and M. P.
Rev. William O'Connell, D. D.	Richard Handcock, Esq., A. B., and M. P.
Rev. Robert R. L. son, D. D.	Edward Synge Cooper, Esq., A. B., and M. P.
Rev. T. P. Magee, L. L. D.	Colonel Irwin, A. B.
Rev. J. C. Martin, A. M., and F. T. C. D.	Colonel Blacker, A. B.
Rev. Charles Boyton, A. M., and F. T. C. D.	Lieutenant-Colonel M'Alpine, A. B.
Rev. J. B. Chapman, A. M., and F. T. C. D.	Charles Lendrick, Esq., L. L. D., President of the College of Physicians
Rev. Joseph Stack, A. B., and F. T. C. D.	

That Henry Maxwell, Esq., A.B., and M.P., be appointed Secretary to the Club; and the Rev. H. Cottingham, A.M., Joseph Napier, Esq., A.M., W. K. Tatam, Esq., A.B., and F. De Butts, Esq., A.M., be appointed Assistant-Secretaries; and that Richard C. Martin, Esq., A.B., be appointed Treasurer; and that the following gentlemen, together with the officers of the club, do constitute the Committee of Management:—

Rev. T. F. Knipe, A.M.
 Rev. Marcus Beresford, A.M.
 Rev. Prince Crawford, A.M.
 Rev. John Whitty, A.M.
 Rev. Irvine Whitty, A.M.
 Rev. R. Ryan, A.B.
 Rev. W. H. Halpin, A.B.
 Rev. H. Vaughan, A.B.
 Rev. A. J. Preston, A.B.
 Rev. J. H. Torrens, A.B.
 Rev. D. Thompson, A.M.
 Lees Gifford, Esq. L.L.D.
 William Maginn, Esq. L.L.D.
 Dixon Eccles, Esq. A.B.

J. C. Moutray, Esq. A.B.
 James Saunderson, Esq. A.B.
 Oliver Nugent, Esq. A.B.
 St. George Gray, Esq. A.B.
 R. Fox, Esq. A.B.
 Andrew Bell, Esq. A.B.
 Thomas Dixon, Esq. A.B.
 Thomas Luby, Esq. A.M.
 W. Beatty, Esq. A.M. M.B.
 Richard Webb, Esq. A.B.
 John Dunlevie, Esq. A.B.
 Robert Kelly, Esq. A.B.
 E. John Smith, Esq. A.B.

II.—*Orangemen of Ireland.*

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, held at 19, Dawson Street, on the 5th November and following days, the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen, Deputy Grand-Master, in the chair—

The report of the committee having been read—

Resolved unanimously, That the following address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland be adopted, and immediately circulated:—

It is not less the interest than the duty of Protestants

APPENDIX.

to support, by every lawful means, the religious and civil establishments of their country. By these the honour of God and the happiness of man are most effectually secured. In the present era, our religion is menaced by the attacks of Popery and Infidelity, while our constitution is assailed by faction and sedition.

Against the double danger the Orange institution was formed, being so named in honour of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, the illustrious champion to whom Great Britain owes her deliverance from thralldom, spiritual and political, the establishment of the Protestant religion, and the inheritance of the Brunswick throne.

We lay no claim to exclusive loyalty, or exclusive Protestantism; but no man, unless his creed be Protestant, and his principles loyal, can associate with us. We recognise no other exclusions. Our institution receives, nay, solicits into its circle, every man whose religion and character can stand these tests.

We reject also an intolerant spirit. It is a previous qualification, without which the greatest and wealthiest man would in vain seek our brotherhood, that he shall be incapable of persecuting, injuring, or upbraiding any one for his religious opinions; but, on the contrary, that he shall be disposed to aid and assist loyal subjects of every religious persuasion, and to protect them from violence and oppression. Such, and such only, are the principles upon which the Orange institution was founded, and upon which it has uniformly acted. Yet our enemies have affected to consider our forms and arrangements contrary to statutes which were enacted

against treasonable and seditious societies. The spirit of such statutes could by no ingenuity of perversion be urged against the Orange institution; but where the most strained interpretation could question its legality, the institution promptly complied, and disdained to evade, even the letter of these statutes.

Our rules are open not only to the members of our institution, but to the whole community. We have no reserve whatsoever, except of the signs and symbols whereby Orangemen know each other, and these the law has not included in its prohibition. Our Association is general; it meets wherever Orangemen are to be found, and that we trust will soon be in every part of the empire.

There is not either oath, obligation, or test, which candidate or brother can take or offer in our society; the proposal of members, their admission, and their continuance among us, are wholly unfettered with pledge or promise; nevertheless we can truly tell the world, that no unqualified person can come into, and no unworthy brother remain in our fellowship.

The Orange institution cannot be suppressed, but by means which would subvert the constitution of Great Britain, and erase the name of the Prince of Orange from among her sovereigns. After that erasure, the Brunswick dynasty would soon follow. The liberty of these realms, our religion, and our monarchy, would again be placed under Papal darkness and despotic oppression.

By order,

HENRY MAXWELL, M.P.

Grand Secretary

APPENDIX.

No. XXXI.

*Declaration of the undersigned Protestants, in favour of a final and conciliatory adjustment of the Catholic question.**

We, the undersigned, being personally interested in the condition, and sincerely anxious for the happiness of Ireland, feel ourselves called upon, at the present juncture, to declare the conviction we entertain, that the disqualifying laws which affect his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, are productive of consequences prejudicial in the highest degree to the interests of Ireland, and the empire to which she is united. With respect to Ireland in particular, they are a primary cause of her poverty and wretchedness, and the source of those political discontents and religious animosities that distract the country, endanger the safety of its institutions, and are destructive alike of social happiness and national prosperity.

* Whilst this important document was circulating, the last aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland took place. The resolutions consisted of their usual declarations of their principles, and a determination to seek for total, unrestricted, unqualified, and unconditional emancipation by legal and constitutional means alone, the rejection of any plan of emancipation coupled with any species of interference with the tenets, doctrine, or discipline, of the Catholic church in Ireland; any attempt to deprive forty-shilling freeholders of their franchise, which they considered a direct violation of the constitution; and strongly recommended the adoption of the Liberal Club system—the appointment of Catholic Rent inspectors, and that two gentlemen from every county in Ireland should accompany Mr. O'Connell to London, on making his attempt to take his seat in parliament.

We are further of opinion, that unless the wisdom of the legislature shall speedily apply a remedy to those evils, they must, in their rapid progress, assume, at no distant period, such a character as must render their ultimate removal still more difficult, if not impossible.

We therefore deem it of paramount importance to the welfare of the empire at large, and of Ireland especially, that the whole subject should be taken into immediate consideration by parliament, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the stability of our national institutions, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

NOBLEMEN.

Duke of Devonshire	Earl of Clare
.....Leinster	.....Leitrim
Marquess of Lansdowne	.....Lucan
.....Downshire	.....Mandaff
.....Sligo	.....Caledon
.....Westmeath	.....Gosford
.....Ormonde	.....Blessington
.....Hastings	.....Glengall
.....Clanricarde	.....Dunraven
Earl of Essex	.....Bective, M.P. co. Meath
.....Jersey	Viscount Dillon
.....Fortescue	.....Bangor
.....Meath	.....Boyne
.....Granard	.....Clifden
.....Albemarle	.....Harberton
.....Wentworth Fitzwilliam	.....Lismore
.....Darnley	.....Ebrington, M.P. Tavistock
.....Beaumont	.....Ennismore, M.P. co. Cork
.....Egmont	.....Forbes, M.P. co. Longford
.....Ludlow	.....Duncannon, M.P. county
.....Miltown	.....Kilkenny
.....Charlemont	.....Kingsborough
.....Howth	Baron Sherborne
.....Kingston	.....Riversdale
.....Portadown	.....Cloncurry
.....Annesley	.....Waterpark
.....Mountnorris	.....Rossmore
.....Wicklow	.....Crofton

APPENDIX.

Baron De Blaquiere	Baron Clements, M. P. co. Leitrim
..... Ventry	..... Clifton, M.P. Canterbury
..... Walscourt	..... Bingham, M.P. co. Mayo
..... Drauley	..... Brabazon
..... Clanmorris	..... Arthur Hill, M.P. co. Down
..... Ashtown	..... William C. O. Fitzgerald,
..... Glentworth	..... M.P. co. Kildare
..... Perceval	..... Robert Stephen Fitzgerald
..... Ormantown, M. P. King's	Count de Salis
..... county	Baron de Roebeck

BARONETS.

Thomas Charles Style, Kent	Emanuel Moore, co. Cavan
Francis Lynch Blosse, co. Mayo	R. Ingrave, co. Waterford
Thomas Butler, co. Carlow	J. Newport, M.P. Waterford
N. C. Colthurst, M.P. Cork	Edward O'Brien, co. Clare
C. Coote, M.P. Queen's co.	H. Parnell, M.P. Queen's co.
William R. de Montmorency, coun-	George Shee, co. Galway
..... ty Kilkenny	M. Somerville, M.P. co. Meath
John Godfrey, county Kerry	W. J. Homan, co. Westmeath
Aubrey de Vere Hunt, county Li-	J. C. Coghill, Surrey
..... merick	James M. Stronge, co. Armagh
Nicholas Loftus, co. Kilkenny	F. W. Macnaghten, co. Antrim
Capel Malynceux, co. Armagh	Richard Killest, co. Cork

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

James C. O. Fitzgerald,	James Grattan, M.P. co. Wicklow
M.P. co. Kerry	C. D. O. Jephson, M.P. Malow
Henry Connel, M.P. co. Ty-	Lucas O'Brien, M.P. county Clare
..... rry	William S. O'Brien, M.P. Ennis
Hon. H. R. Westmore, M.P. county	James O'Hara, M.P. Galway
..... Meath	James Daly, M.P. county Galway
Hon. F. Pennington, M.P. Higham	Alexander Dawson, M.P. co. Louth
..... Erris	Arthur French, M.P. co. Roscom-
Hon. Geo. P. O'Shea, M.P. Youghal	..... mon
John F. A. P., M.P. co. Tip-	Henry V. Stuart, M.P. co. Waterford
..... perary	H. M. Tuohy, M.P. co. Westmeath
Hon. W. P., M.P. co. Ty-	Robert Power, M.P. co. Waterford
..... rry	Thomas S. Rice, M.P. Limerick
Hon. C. H. Butler Clarke, M.P. co.	Thomas Lloyd, M.P. co. Limerick
..... Kilkenny	Henry Grattan, M.P. city of Dublin
Hon. Thomas R. King, M.P. county	J. S. Lambert, M.P. county Galway
..... Cork	Robert S. Carew, M.P. co. Wexford
Hon. G. J. W. Agar Ellis, M. P.	Richard W. Talbot, M.P. co. Dublin
..... Ludgershall	James Browne, M.P. county Mayo
Charles Brownlow, M.P. co. Ar-	Henry White, M.P. county Dublin
..... magh	Robert Latouche, M.P. co. Kildare
Thos. Bernard, M.P. King's county	Peter Van Homrigh, M.P. Dro-
L. H. North, M.P. Milborne Port	..... gheda
Samuel White, M.P. co. Dorset	John G. M.P. Scotland, S. S.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF GENTLEMEN AND OTHER RANKS.

A

Arabin, H. Kilmacud, co. Dublin
 Arabin, H. W. Clare-street, Dublin
 Alcock, H. (J.P.) Waterford
 Acheson, James, Fleet-st. Dublin
 Ambrose, W. S. St. Andrew-st. do.
 Arabin, Charles, Moyvoughy
 Armstrong, A. Gallen, King's co.
 Armstrong, A. Kilsharran, co. Meath
 Armstrong, F. St. George, Garrycastle House, King's county
 Armstrong, Owen, Gormanstown Green, county Meath
 Atkinson, Joseph, Barberstown
 Allridge, William, Kibereen
 Arabin, J. L. Corkagh, co. Dublin
 Anderson, Wm. Abbey-st. Dublin
 Armstrong, L. Stephen's green, do.
 Armstrong, R. (Col.) Newtown Hill
 Armstrong, J. Mt Venus, co. Dublin
 Armstrong, D. Merchant's quay, do.
 Armstrong, R. L. Ormond quay, do.
 Armstrong, H. L. Bridge-st. ditto
 Armstrong, James, M.A. Presbyterian Minister, Hardwicke-st. do.
 Allen, Francis, Usher st. do.
 Alleya, Richard J. (Lieut. R. N.) Kildinan, county Cork
 Archdekin, T. Michael st. Waterford
 Arnold, Wm. Creve, co. Monaghan
 Armstrong, George, (clk.) Bingsfield, county Cavan
 Adderley, A. (Surgeon. R. N.) Newry
 Allingham, William, Ballyshannon
 Allingham, Edward, ditto
 Atkinson, John, M. D. Castlebar
 Acheson, James, Oakes, L. Derry
 Ardagh, William M. (J.P.) Waterford
 Ambrose, Charles, ditto
 Alcock, Alexander M. ditto
 Alcock, John C. ditto
 Alcock, John, ditto
 Anderson, James, Queen-st. Dublin
 Allingham, John, Capel-street, do.
 Adams, J. Drumboeboy, co. Armagh
 Arthur, William, Belfast
 Andrews, James, Comber, co. Down

Andrews, John, co. Down
 Archer, Samuel, Belfast
 Abbott, Richd. Queen-st. Dublin
 Armstrong, E. St. George
 Allingham, James, Capel-st. Dublin
 Altoon, J. Cloghan Castle, King's co.
 Andrews, James, jun. Belfast
 Agnew, Edward Jones, Kilwaughter Castle, Larne, county Antrim
 Alcock, Waskeline, (J.P.) Rough Grove, Bandon
 Allman, Francis, Overton, co. Cork
 Allman, George, Milton, do.
 Allman, Robert, Bandon, ditto
 Allman, William George, ditto
 Allman, Charles, ditto
 Autley, Archibald T. county Cork
 Alker, John Drew South Mail, Cork
 Abbott, John G. Malrow
 Allman, James C. Bandon
 Allman, Richard, ditto

B

Bushe, Gervais Parker, Waterford
 Bushe, Henry Augus, Glencarn, Lismore
 Busby, John, jun. New-st. Dublin
 Burton, E. W. General Military Hospital, Phoenix Park, Dublin
 Blood, Geo. Montpelier-hill, ditto
 Blood, George, jun. ditto
 Bushe, Henry, Waterford
 Barrett, Samuel, N. Anne-st. Dublin
 Bolton, Wm. E. Brazil, co. ditto
 Barrett, Richd. Suffolk st. ditto
 Brady, Mazure, Blessington-st. do.
 Birch, Thos. Wormwood-gate, do.
 Blundell, Henry R. Prussia-st. do.
 Brice, Edward, Kilroot, co. Antrim
 Bennett, John, Church-st. Dublin
 Bennet, H. Anderson's-court, ditto
 Bryan, Robert Butler, Mallardstown, county Kilkenny
 Brennan, Jas., L. Bridge-st. Dublin
 Bell, Francis, Linenhall-street, do.
 Bernard, Charles, Carlow
 Barnes, Joseph, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin
 Booker, B. Mecklenburg-st. ditto
 Bell, Richard, Linenhall-street, do.

APPENDIX.

- Beaumont, E. J. Furnace, co. Kildare**
Burrows, Peter, Lerson-st. Dublin
Blood, Neptune, Trinity street, do.
Beere, Daniel, Mountjoy-sq. E. do.
Bond, Walter M'Keogh, Denican, county Arunagh
Barrington, Richard, Great Britain-street, Dublin
Bennett, R. N. Harcourt-street, do.
Bennett, Richard B. ditto
Birmingham, Richard, (clk.) Rec-tor of Mora, county Tipperary
Boyes, Samuel, Grange, co. Wexford
Boyes, Thos., Grange, ditto
Byrne, A. Merchant's-quay, Dublin
Byrne, R. Lower Bridge street, do.
Baird, Samuel, Merchant's-quay, do.
Baird, James H. ditto
Browne, S. (M.D.) Sespoin Avenue, county Dublin
Burnside, Matthew J. (J.P.) Cor-creevy House, county Tyrone
Burnside, Matthew, Five-mile-town, ditto
Brown, Samuel, Cavan
Beauclerk, Aubrey, Ardglass Castle, county Down
Bruce, Samuel, Dame-street, Dublin
Barnes, Thos. Dunover, co. Meath
Barnes, Thomas, Westland, ditto
Berwick, Edward, Lower Fitzwil-lam's-street, Dublin
Berwick, Walter, do. do.
Baird, T. M. Merchant's quay, do.
Butler, William, E. T. M. Ville, Clonmel
Browne, Dominick, Castlenacgarret, county Mayo
Brennan, George, Corn-market, Dublin
Balfour, B. T. Townley Hall, Drogheda
Brough, F. Church, Henry street, Dublin
Bryan, J. Castletown, Fermanagh
Byrne, Thos. Corn-market, Dublin
Brega, S. B. Middle Mountjoy-street, ditto
Barret, William, Lower Merrion-street, ditto
Burrows, George, Kells
Brooke, R. Ballyboden, co. Dublin
Burchell, George, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
Brechea, Thomas, Newtown, near Ross, county Wexford
Bruce, George Evan, (J.P.) Charle-ville
Bell, J. H. (M.D.) Newry
Bick, Samuel, ditto
Baird, Hans, ditto
Bingham, John, (M.D.) Rossmore
Beatty, Josias, Armagh
Browne, W. H. (J.P.) Rahins, co. Mayo
Browne, W. P. D. ditto
Budd, James, Waterford
Bingham, Hon. Denis Arthur, Ra-hasane, county Galway
ake, James Cuffe, Belmont, ditto
ake, William, ditto ditto
ake, Valentine, ditto
Blake, Thomas ditto
Blake, J. F. ditto
Barnes, George, county Armagh
Boyd, Robert, Marlacor, ditto
Barnes, John, county Armagh
Barnes, James, ditto
Bell, Thomas, Drumennia, ditto
Boyd, William, Belfast
Barnett, James, ditto
Boyd, William, jun. ditto
Brennan, Alexander, ditto
Blennerhassett, Henry, (M. D.) Dingle, county Kerry
Brooke, Henry, North Wall, Dublin
Bernie, James, Waterford
Blackmore, John, Callan, county Kilkenny
Brennan, John Edward, Furnace, county Kildare
Brown, John, Usher's-quay, Dublin
Blackwell, James, county Dublin
Brennan, R. Bridge-street, Dublin
Blake, Michael, Cook-street, Dublin
Breckon, John, New Ross, county Wexford
Burrows, Peter, jun. co. Dublin
Burke, T. Gisborne, Faly, county Galway
Blake, Giles Eyre, Grange, ditto
Barnes, William, Aghnacloy
Budd, James, Tramore, county of Waterford
Boomer, James, Belfast
Bavington, James B. London
Boyd, Robert, jun. Belfast
Balkeard, John B. ditto

- Bradshaw, Robert Scott, Belfast
 Barnett, John, ditto
 Boyd, John, ditto
 Benson, John, ditto
 Bell, Henry, ditto
 Barkley, Archibald, ditto
 Bowles, Adam, ditto
 Boyd, Cunningham Gregg, ditto
 Boyd, John C. do
 Brierly, Henry, Lower Gloucester-
 street, Dublin
 Biggar, James, N. Anne-street, do.
 Bradley, John, Bishopland
 Bannington, William, Molesworth-
 street, Dublin
 Burderry, John, Belfast
 Bolton, George, Beresford-place,
 Dublin
 Bryan, James B. Temple, London
 Browell, Samuel, Dundrum, county
 Dublin
 Blunden, Simeon, Annfield, county
 Kilkenny
 Browne, G. Coolin, county Roscom-
 mon
 Beatin, Henry I. Moira, co. Down
 Baly, Benj. Myshall, co. Carlow
 Blacker, Robert, Newtown, county
 Wicklow
 Browne, Dennis, Brownstown House,
 county Mayo
 Bradly, Benjamin, Old Bawn, co.
 Dublin
 Ball, Robert, Digges-street, Dublin
 Blood, Edward, T. C. D.
 Boursiquot, Samuel, Upper Sack-
 ville-street, Dublin
 Boursiquot, John, ditto
 Burrows, Richard, jun. co. Dublin
 Butler, P. S. ditto
 Burch, George, Monacentra, Ros-
 crea, Queen's county
 Burch, James F. ditto
 Burch, John, Burch Green, ditto
 Blake, Richard, (J.P.) Garracloone,
 county Mayo
 Boyd, James, Belfast
 Billing, James S. Bernsford-place,
 Dublin
 Bradshaw, Benjamin B. Gambons-
 town, county Tipperary
 Bowring, Jeffrey, Carass Park, Li-
 merick
 Brady, Matthew, Trinity-st. Dublin
 Butler, Walter, Creg, co. Galway
 Burke, William, Team, Galway
 Barron, Charles C. Strand-street,
 Waterford
 Barrett, Daniel D. Michael-st. do.
 Blacker, William, (J.P.) Wood-
 brook, county Wexford
 Beamish, Francis Bernard, Cork
 Beamish, Robert Beaumont, ditto
 Boardman, Arthur A. ditto
 Beamish, Charles, ditto
 Burose, William Edward, ditto
 Beamish, William Beaumont, ditto
 Burchaell, David, Crandonalds,
 county Cork
 Burchaell, Richd. Tinnehinch, co.
 Carlow
 Burtchall, Edward, Knockbarrow,
 county Kilkenny
 Burtchall, Robert, Lockincooley,
 ditto
 Burtchall, Robert, Kilkenny
 Burbridge, William, Cookstown
 Bleazby, William, Ballynacurra,
 county Cork
 Breerton, David, Springfield, county
 Longford
 Bingham, George Elliott, Longford
 Butler, Pierce, (J.P.) Ballyconna,
 county Kilkenny
 Burgh, W. (J.P.) Norelands, ditto
 Baker, John, Killuran, ditto
 Bayley W. John's Hill, ditto
 Bayley, Clayton, Kilmoen, ditto
 Baker, Henry, Killuran, ditto
 Burchall, David, High-street, ditto
 Bradley, Thomas, ditto
 Bell, James, county Down
 Boswell, William, Athlone
 Boswell, John, (barrister) Athlone
 Bourke, B. (Solicitor) Thurles, co.
 Tipperary
 Biggs, Jeremiah, Bandon
 Bates, John, Cork
 Bullen, John, Roughwood, Kinsale
 Bullen, Witham, ditto
 Bullen, Robert, ditto
 Bullen, Edward Roche, ditto
 Bullen, J. Harbour View, Kinsale
 Bowen, Robert Cole, Bandon
 Bowen, Henry Cole, ditto
 Browne, John, Bangor, co. Down
 Brown, Alexander, Bangor, county
 Down
 Brown, James, ditto
 Brown, Henry, ditto

- Chute, Pierce, (J.P.) Nelson-street,
 Tralee
 Chute, Thomas, ditto ditto
 Crainmore, William, Carnmoney,
 county Antrim
 Campbell, Robert, sen. Bangor
 Carr, John, ditto
 Cleland, James, ditto
 Campbell, Thomas, ditto
 Crooke, William, Derrreen, Cork
 Carey, Michael, (Lieut. 83rd.)
 Mount rivers, Cork
 Carson, William, Little Island
 Chute, Pierce, jun. Nelson street,
 Tralee
 Clarke, Alexander, Athlone
 Cox, Sir William, (J.P.) Coolcliff,
 county Wexford
 Cooper, S. Gt. Clonard, ditto
 Cooper, Henry, ditto
 Church, George, Listowel, county
 Kerry
 Church, John G. ditto ditto
 Creagh, Francis, Ballyboman, co.
 Kerry
 Cannon, Charles, Moyglare, county
 Meath
 Coddington, H. B. Farm, ditto
 Coote, Charles, (J.P.) Bellmont
 Forest
 Cully, Richard, Moorehall, county
 Armagh
 Coulter, Richard Carnmeen, county
 Down
 Coulter, James, ditto ditto
 Coulter, John, county Armagh
 Corbett, John, Newry
 Coulter, William, ditto
 Corry, T. (J.P.) ditto
 Cumming, John, Lower Ormond-
 quay, Dublin
 Cavendish, Frederick, Castlebar
 Creagh, John, Dromartin
 Creagh, Francis, Killoughnan
 Creagh, Oliver, ditto
 Cooke, William, Waterford
 Concannon, Edward, county Galway
 Carroll, William, Armagh
 Cuthbert, John, Limerick
 Cochran, George, Armagh
 Cairnes, William, Belfast
 Charters, John, ditto
 Carell, John, ditto
 Corbett, Thomas, ditto
 Coates, William, Snugbrook, Belfast
 Cunningham, John, Macedon, ditto
 Cunningham, John, jun. ditto ditto
 Claytor, Joshua M. Belview, county
 Dublin
 Crawford, William Sharman, Ban-
 gor, county Down
 Clarke, I. (clk) Waterford
 Carew, Robert S. Woodstock, co.
 Wexford
 Cooke, Richard, Waterford
 Clarke, Henry, ditto
 Carroll, William, ditto
 Clarke, Pierce, ditto
 Calwell, N. jun. Dublin
 Crawford, George, Ballydown, co.
 Down
 Connor, Charles, Moyglare, county
 Meath
 Coyle, George K., Moorfield, co.
 Galway
 Charlton, Andrew D., Derrynaugel,
 Armagh
 Cumming, James, Aughnacloy, co.
 Tyrone
 Corbit, William, Belfast
 Campbell, James, ditto
 Chirmside, Thomas, ditto
 Cosgrave, John, ditto
 Callwell, Robert, ditto
 Campbell, Robert W. ditto
 Corvan, Samuel, ditto
 Corduke, John, ditto
 Campbell, Samuel, ditto
 Caird, John, ditto
 Charles, John, Finnaghy, ditto
 Coleman, J. H. ditto
 Colville, John, jun. ditto
 Cross, Maurice, ditto
 Cranston, William, ditto
 Cobham, John, Upper Temple-st.
 Dublin
 Campion, Christopher W. French-
 street, ditto
 Creevy, John, Downpatrick
 Carey, I. (J.P.) county Armagh
 Clarke, Joseph, Carrickmacross
 Carney, Robert, Clonmel
 Close, Burrowes, ditto
 Chambers, B. R. Ralinstown, co.
 Armagh
 Croker, Robert, Ballyboy
 Cordukes, Isaac, jun. Strand-street,
 Dublin

Dickson, Samuel, Fleet-st. Dublin
 Durham, Thomas, Henry-st. ditto
 Dunlavy, George, Kinsale, co. Cork
 Donnelly, Thomas, Enniscorthy
 Dowden, Richard, Cork
 Dickson, Stephen, Moonros, Vicar
 of Dungarvan
 Drought, Thomas, Droughtville
 Forest, King's county
 Doglierty, John, Aughenderry, co.
 Derry
 Downes, H.
 Dumoulin, John, Stephen's-green,
 Dublin
 Dickey, Adam, Ballymena
 Dickson, Robert, Carmoncy, county
 Antrim
 Dix, Thomas, (clk.) Belfast
 Drought, Robt., Ballygeehan, Queen's
 county
 Dixon, John, county Wexford
 Dixon, James, ditto
 Dixon, John, jun. ditto
 Dixon, William, ditto
 Davidson, William, Monaghan
 Divine, Richard, Ullard, county Kil-
 kenny
 Drought, Richard, Graigue, Carlow
 De la Cour, Robert, Bear Forest,
 Mallow, county Cork
 Day, Edward, (Lieut. Col.) Tralee
 Dunne, John, Bangor, co. Down

E

Evans, George, Portrane, county
 Dublin
 Ensor, George, Armagh
 English, William, Eccles-st. Dublin
 English, Isaac, Bachelor's-walk, do.
 English, William, Dawson-st. ditto
 Ellis, William S.
 Engar, J. Minard, county Kerry
 Egan, Robert, Dingle, ditto
 Evans, George, Farnhill, Athy
 Edmundson, Allen, Boyle, county
 Roscommon
 Ellis, Henry, Prussia st. Dublin
 Edgeworth, Loyal, Edgeworthstown
 House
 Ellis, Francis, Crescent, Bath
 Elliott, Gilbert, Clinto, county Mo-
 naghan

Egan, Daniel, Borrosokane, county
 Tipperary
 Emerson, James, Belfast
 Egerton, James, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Elliott, E. county Kilkenny

F

Farrell, Thomas, Stephen-st. Dublin
 Fortescue, William H. J. Great
 George-street, ditto
 Fisher, John, Upper Bridge-street,
 ditto
 Forbes, George, Burgh-quay, ditto
 Ferguson, William, (M.D.) Leix-
 lip
 Finlay, John, Cumberland-street,
 Dublin
 French, R. jun. Monivea
 Fowler, John, Portland-place, Dub-
 lin
 Forster, Robert, Springfield, county
 Tyrone
 French, Fitzstephen, Frenchpark
 House, county Roscommon
 French, John, (clk.)
 French, Richard, Elm Lodge, South-
 ampton, Hants
 Fetherston, James, Rockview, co.
 Westmeath
 Fetherston, Richard, ditto
 Farrell, Luke, Belfast
 Ferguson, Hugh, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Fitzmorris, James, Clonstown, co.
 Kilkenny
 French, Thomas Fitzstephen, county
 Roscommon
 Fitzgerald, Gerald, Clonmel
 Fitzgerald, James Henry, Ballymo-
 nan, county Wicklow
 Fobrey, George, Curra Bridge, co.
 Limerick
 Fleming, George, Athlone
 Fleming, Henry, ditto
 Ffrench, Anthony Frederick, New
 Ross, county Wexford
 Fletcher, Henry, ditto
 French, John, ditto
 French, Anthony, ditto
 French, Thomas, ditto
 Fisher, Robert, ditto

Gardner, Edward, county Armagh
 Gardner, William, ditto
 Green, George, Lurgan, ditto
 Givvin, James, Greenvalle, ditto
 Grimshaw, Robert, Belfast
 Grimshaw, C. B. ditto
 Gamble, Robert, ditto
 Grimshaw, J. M. Whitehouse, ditto
 Getty, Edmond, ditto
 Getty, Robert, ditto
 Green, Joseph, Kilkenny
 Grimshaw, John, Belfast
 Glasg-w, James, ditto
 Getty, William, ditto
 Gregg, Cunningham, (J.P.) ditto
 Greenlaw, Robert, ditto
 Gunning, Robert, ditto
 Gray, Robert, ditto
 Gowan, Henry, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
 Galbraith, Samuel, Nicholas-street, ditto
 Galbraith, William, ditto
 Gion, A. Ballymena, co. Antrim
 Garvey, J. P. Castle House, Banagher, King's county
 Goshin, John, Bride-street, Dublin
 Green, Thomas, Clonmel
 Going, James, ditto
 Goodison, Richard, Carreen, county Wicklow
 Goodison, Thomas, ditto
 Goodison, William, ditto
 Gilbert, Joseph, ditto
 Griffin, John, ditto
 Griffin, John, jun. ditto
 Gilbert, Francis, ditto
 Griffin, William, ditto
 Goslin, Isaac, ditto
 Graham, William, county Wexford
 Grant, James, Claremount, Banagher, King's county
 Gilpin, Joseph, Portadown, county Armagh
 Grey, Thomas, Keady, ditto
 Gibson, John, Cork
 Gouldsbury, J. A. Springfield, co. Longford
 Green, Joseph, (J.P.) Lower Grange, county Kilkenny
 Geale, Benjamin, Mountgeale, ditto
 Grubb, Robert, High-st Kilkenny
 Grubb, Samuel, Clogheen, county Tipperary

Green, John, Greenville, county Kilkenny
 Green, George, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Gardner, John, Coltown, co. Down
 Gray, James, Bangor

H

Howard, Hon. Hugh, Bushypark, county Wicklow
 Hope, S. C. Dublin
 Hunt, V. De Vere, Curragh, county Limerick
 Hone, Joseph, Harcourt-st. Dublin
 Hart, William S. Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin
 Hart, William, Williamstown, Black-rock, ditto
 Home, George, National Market, do.
 Holmes, Alexander, Kilcullen, co. Kildare
 Howell, George, Molesworth-street, Dublin
 Hill, J. M. Armagh
 Huband, Joseph, Charlemont-mall, Dublin
 Hatchell, George, Rathfarnham
 Henry, Arthur, Lodge Park, county Kildare
 Hutton, John, Summer-hill, Dublin
 Hutton, Robert, ditto ditto
 Hutton, Thomas, ditto ditto
 Harty, Lewis, Kilkenny
 Hogan, Anthony, Kildare-st. Dublin
 Harley, John, James'-street, ditto
 Humphreys, Christopher W. Merchaut's-quay, ditto
 Humphreys, Charles, ditto
 Hone, Brindley, Rorbuck
 Hill, Edward, (M.D.) York-street, Dublin
 Haughton, William, City-quay, ditto
 Hutton, Edward, Summer-hill, ditto
 Henderson, David, Dodder Bank, county Dublin
 Hutton, Henry, Baldoyle, ditto
 Heyland, James A. Cullinstown, ditto
 Hutton, Henry, Summer-hill, Dublin
 Henderson, James, Tritonville, Sandymount
 Hudson, W. (M.D.) Dawson-street, Dublin

Hunter, Alexander, Dromahaire, Belfast
 Hindley, Joseph, Mecklenburg-street, Dublin
 Hamilton, Henry, Freeman of the Merchants' Guild, Dublin
 Hewston, David, Piltown, county Kilkenny
 Hissett, John, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Hussey, Edward J. Galtrim, county Meath
 Hussey, Edward H. ditto
 Holbrooke, Benjamin, Manchester
 Hackett, Michael, Parsonstown, King's county
 Heenan, William, ditto
 Holbrook, John Richard, Anglosey-street, Dublin
 Hunt, John, Aungier-street, ditto
 Hawkes, Charles, Brinfield, county Roscommon
 Hamilton, Thomas, Stewartstown, county Tyrone
 Hill, John, Omagh, ditto
 Hiles, John, Bailieborough, county Cavan
 Haughton, Barcroft, Castlecomer, county Kilkenny
 Hart, William Gerard, (clk.) Cork
 Halliday, William, Deerpark Lodge, county Cork
 Halliday, Daniel, jun. Carrick-on-Suir
 Halliday, Daniel, ditto
 Hinley, John, Richardstown, ditto
 Helsham, John, (J.P.) county Kilkenny
 Hayden, William, ditto
 Hartford, Thomas, ditto
 Henderson, Andrew, ditto
 Hickson, Robert, Vicar of Duagh, county Kerry
 Hanna, Robert, Crawfordburn, co. Down
 Hickson, James, Kenmare, co. Kerry
 Hayden, Henry, Thurles, county Tipperary
 Hayden, William Henry, ditto
 Harrington, R. Armagh
 Hunter, William, (clk.) Bandon, county Cork
 Hayes, H. B. Cork
 Haynes, John William, Mallow, county Cork

Howard, William, Clonaghmore, co. Meath
 Holmes, John, Carrickfergus

I

Irwin, W. Cloncorrick, Killyslandra, county Cavan
 Ingham, John, Lisnamain, Belturbet, county Cavan
 Ivie, George, Waterford
 Ingram, Moses, Rosegrove, Harold's Cross, county Dublin
 Irwin, William, Armagh
 Innis, Thomas William, Innistagees, county Kilkenny
 Irwin, Edward, Merchant's-quay, Dublin

J

Johnson, Robert, Edenderry, King's county
 Jacob, Ebenezer, Upper Temple-street, Dublin
 Journeaux, James A. Arran-quay, do.
 Jays, Edward, Cushe-street, ditto
 Jeffcott, William, A.B. T.C.D.
 Johnson, Thomas, Seville-place, Dublin
 Johnson, Daniel, Leixlip
 Jones, Arnold, Vitriol Works, Watling-street, Dublin
 Jackson, William, Ballybay, county Monaghan
 Jones, Edw. Bachelor's-walk, Dublin
 Jordan, Thomas, Peace Ville, Newtown Mount Kennedy, county Wicklow
 Jameson, John, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin
 Jackson, Thomas, Great Brunswick-street, ditto
 Jones, William Griffith, Dominick-street, ditto
 Jameson, James, Dublin
 Jameson, John, ditto
 Jordan, Richd. Richview, co. Dublin
 Joyce, Henry, Clonmel
 Jeffcott, Thomas, Dingle
 Jeffries, Thomas, Great Clonard, county Wexford

L

- La Touche, John David, Castle-street, Dublin
 La Touche, Peter, jun. ditto
 La Touche, David Charles, ditto
 La Touche, R. D. ditto
 La Touche, George
 La Touche, John, (clk.) Vicar of Mountrath
 La Touche, Robert, (Lieut.-Col.) county Dublin
 Leader, Nicholas P. Dromard Castle, Kanturk, county Cork
 Lambert, Thomas D. county Galway
 Leahy, John, North King street, Dublin
 Leeson, William Edward, Ely-place, ditto
 Lawlor, M. S. county Kerry
 Lealie, P. A. Bride-street, Dublin
 Lowe, Josiah, Fitzwilliam Lodge, do.
 Lawson, Edward, William st. ditto
 Lidwill, George, Dromard, county Tipperary
 Lowe, Pascal Pasley, Leixlip
 Leeson, Hon. Robert, Ely-place, Dublin
 Livingston, Edmund D. North East-street, ditto
 Litton, Daniel, Lower Mount-street, ditto
 Livesley, Henry, Ellenea Villa, Terenure, county Dublin
 Litton, Richard, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
 Lysaght, Richard, Lower Pembroke-street, ditto
 Lewis, George Christian, Meath-st. ditto
 Lewis, Abraham, Merchant's-quay, ditto
 Leahy, John, Sch. T. C. D.
 Lambert, Walter, Lambert Lodge, county Galway
 Lambert, Henry, Oggard, ditto
 Lloyd, John, Lloydsborough, Roscrea, Queen's county
 Lindsey, Thomas Spencer, Hollymount House, county Mayo
 Littlewood, H. J. Linenhall street, Dublin
 Langstaff, Joseph, Kingstown
 Lloyd, Thomas, jun. Ballyvourne, county Limerick
 Lloyd, Eyre, Burchmount, ditto
 Lynam, John, jun. Bachelor's-walk, Dublin
 Leske, George R. county Clare
 Lamphier, Thomas, New Ross, co. Wexford
 Lamphier, Joseph, ditto
 Lamphier, Joseph F. ditto
 Leigh, John, ditto
 Leadman, Thos. county Kerry
 Lloyd, Edw. Heathfield, county Limerick
 Little, Archibald, Newry
 Lipssett, Michael, Ballyshannon, co. Donegal
 Lyle, Joseph, Newry
 Lewis, W. county Mayo
 Lamrick, William, Castlebar
 Lyle, Acheson, Gardiner's-place, Dublin
 Lyle, Hugh, Oak Lodge, Londonderry
 Lawson, James, Waterford
 Lindsey, Richard, Armagh
 Lyle, John, B. East
 Lake, Samuel, ditto
 Lindsey, John, Sackville st. Dublin
 Lamb, Joshua, Lisburn
 Laphan, John D. Waterford
 Lamphrey, J. (M.D.) ditto
 Lane, Edw. Clonmel
 Lindsay, John, Tullyhenas, county Down
 Lucas, Edward, Castleshane, county Monaghan
 Law, Hugh, Gilford, county Down
 Lightfoot, William, High-st. Dublin
 Luke, James, Belfast
 Lamb, Joshua, Lisburn
 Leech, William Preston, Kilkenny
 Lerson, Isaac, county Wicklow
 Leggett, Robt. county Wexford
 Lane, Vere, Denzille st. Dublin
 Lidwill, Frederick M. Droma, co. Tipperary
 Lane, James, Cork
 Logan, Wm. C. county Cork
 Lane, George, Kilworth, ditto
 Lester, Richard, Carrick-on-Suir
 Lester, George, ditto
 Loftus, Francis Hamilton, Mount Loftus, county Kilkenny

APPENDIX.

Leadbeater, Richard G. Sandhally
Langley, Benjamin, Athlone
Langley, William, ditto
Lester, Joshua, Thurles, county Tip-
perary
Lawless, Robert, ditto
Laod, Wm. H. Cardiff, Glamorgan-
shire, "a visitor to Ireland"
Leader, Thomas, Cork
Lindsey, James, Carramoney

M

Mahony, Pierce, Merrion-square,
Dublin
Morrison, Richd. Gloucester-st. do.
M'Donnell, John, New Hall, Ennis,
county Clare
M'Kenny, Thomas, (Alderman,) Dublin
Maguire, Constantine, Tempo
M'Neill, Gordon, county Dublin
Marley, G. (Lieut.-Col.) Belvedere,
county Westmeath
Mahony, David, Mount-st. Dublin
Magee, James, Trinity-street, ditto
Milner, George, Rutland, co. Dublin
Malone, Richd. Baronsstown, King's
county
Mannell, Charles
M'Mullen, John, Blackhall-street,
Dublin
Martin, Thos. Ballinacree Castle,
county Galway
Milward, William, Waterford
M'Brade, George, Abbey-st. Dublin
Melladew, Thomas B. Wormwood-
gate, Dublin
Metcalf, Timothy, James'-street,
ditto
Macartney, James, (M.D.) Upper
Merrion-street ditto
M'Cready, John D. (M.D.) Eustace-
street, ditto
Murry, Samuel, Harcourt-st. ditto
Millner, John, Mountmellick
Maxwell, Thomas, Burgh-quay,
Dublin
M'Dermott, Joseph, Castlekiew
Morgan, Sir T. Charles (knt.) Kil-
dare-street, Dublin
Maeder, John George, Queen-street,
ditto

Morgan, Thomas, Lower Mount-
street, Dublin
Murray, Matthew, Ranelagh
Mee, William Moore, Dublin
Millikin, Richard, Grafton-st. ditto
Morris, Benjamin, Grafton-st. ditto
Manders, Richard, Brackenstown,
county Dublin
Manders, Robt. Airfield, co. Dublin
M'Conchy, William, Buckingham-
street, Dublin
Marshall, J. Markham, co. Kerry
Massergh, John Wm. Ballyboden,
county Dublin
via, William, Waterford
McNelland, Robert, Summer-hill,
Dublin
Mills, Thomas, (M. D.) Rutland-
square, ditto
M'Intire, N. B. Summerhill, ditto
Marsh, Henry, (M. D.) Molresworth-
street, ditto
Moore, William, Mabbot-st. ditto
Mannington, Edward, ditto
Mathers, John P. Camden-street,
ditto
Mitchell, James, (M.D.) Newtown
Mount Kennedy, co. Wicklow
M'Kinean, James, (clk.) Dublin
M'Connell, John, St. Andrew-st.
ditto
Maguire, Alexander, Bolton-st. do.
M'Donnell, John, (M.D.) Belve-
dere place, ditto
M'Carthy, M. F. T. Enniskeen, co.
Cork
M'Carthy, Dionysius, A.B. T.C.D.
Montgomery, Robert, Essex-street,
Dublin
Morrison, John, (M.D.) ditto
Morrison, Richard, jun. (M.D.) do.
Morrison, William, Gloucester-st.
ditto
Morrison, Fielding, (clk.) Vicar of
Corkmahide
M'Cullagh, Henry, Ballyboden, co.
Dublin
Morgan, Edward, Biddistown, co.
Cork
Molyneux, James, Great Brunswick-
street, Dublin
Meares, Charles, Dorset-street, do.
Meahan, John, New Ross, county
Wexford

- Mason, Frederick, Ballygrenan, county Kerry
 Moore, Howard, (R.N.) Carlow
 M'Minn, Joseph, jun. Newry
 Mollon, John, ditto
 Melling, John, ditto
 May, James, ditto
 Madden, Wm. James'-st. Dublin
 Meakan, Robert, Newry
 Molyneux, Echlin, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin
 Malley, William S. county Mayo
 Martin, Thomas, ditto
 Maxwell, W. W. (clk. J. P.) Prebendary of Balla, co. Mayo
 Mason, Oliver, (J.P.) Kilmore
 M'Clean, Benjamin, Waterford
 Massey, Godfrey, Tramore, county Waterford
 Massey, Hugh, ditto ditto
 Macklin, Thos. Thornton, George's-place, Dublin
 M'Guire, Geo. Holles-street, ditto
 M'Williams, William, Armagh
 Marshall, Joseph, ditto
 Murry, William, Ednavasse, ditto
 M'Williams, Thomas, ditto
 Marks, Benjamin, Cloveneden, co. Armagh
 Moore, Edward F. Blackwaterstown, ditto
 Marks, Jacob, Cloveneden, ditto
 M'Kinstry, Robert, ditto
 M'Kinstry, L. Glenkeady, ditto
 M'Kean, Edward, Ballyhandan, do.
 M'Bride, Robert, Allstragh, ditto
 M'Canoe, John, Suffolk, Belfast
 Mulholland, Andrew, ditto
 M'Laine, Alexander, ditto
 MacLurkan, Thomas, ditto
 Moore, William John, ditto
 M'Kibben, Hugh, ditto
 M'Cracken, Francis, ditto
 Murphy, John, ditto
 M'Clean, Adam, ditto
 M'Tear, George, ditto
 M'Donnell, Alexander, ditto
 M'Donnell, James, (M.D.) ditto
 M'Cracken, John, ditto
 M'Canoe (clk.) William, Waterford
 M'Dougall, Patrick, ditto
 Mortimer, Michael, ditto
 M'Dougall, Thomas, ditto
 Marks, Samuel A. ditto
 Motrisky, Samuel, Waterford
 M'Grath, Thomas, ditto
 M'Bride, Thomas, county Dublin
 Mulligan, John, Ballyboden, ditto
 Maddox, Thomas, Buckingham-st. Dublin
 Malligan, John, Parkmount, county Down
 Mulwood, Christopher, Capel-st. Dublin
 Morton, James, Clonmel
 Montgomery, Thomas, Aughnacloy, county Tyrone
 Mackey, John, Kennedies, ditto
 M'Kinstry, J. Lurgan, co. Armagh
 M'Kenne, John, Belfast
 M'Clean, Samuel, ditto
 Montgomery, George, ditto
 M'Donnell, Thomas, ditto
 Montgomery, H. (clk.) ditto
 M'Adam, James, ditto
 M'Adam, John, ditto
 Moore, James, ditto
 Magee, Robert, Lodge, ditto
 Morgan, John, Belfast
 Magill, James, ditto
 M'Dowell, Robert A. (J.P.) ditto
 M'Cormick, Henry, (M.D.) ditto
 M'Case, Thomas, (M.D.) ditto
 Montgomery, Hugh, ditto
 Munford, James, ditto
 Murphy, William, ditto
 M'Clancy, Robert, ditto
 Mulholland, Thomas, ditto
 Mastis, William, ditto
 Mayne, S. Lower Bridge-st. Dublin
 Mills, Robert, Roper's Rest, county Dublin
 Milikin, Israel, Belfast
 Munster, P. L. ditto
 M'Calmont, Hugh, ditto
 Montgomery, James, Garvey, co. Tyrone
 M'Kinstry, Zach. county Armagh
 Maxwell, John, Rathlish, Portarlinton
 M'Mahon, Charles, Carrickmacross
 Moore, William, ditto
 Murray, John, Moorfield, Clonmel
 Murphy, Thomas, ditto
 Molloy, John, Rockfield, King's co.
 Meares, Thomas, Doughall, ditto
 Meares, Richard, Newtown Lodge, ditto

APPENDIX.

[illegible]

Newport, Samuel, Waterford
 Neville, Thomas, Annamult, county
 Kilkenny
 Nolan, John, (M.D.) Dublin
 Nixon, Henry, ditto
 Nesbit, John, London
 Nesbitt, Cosby, Lisamore, Cavan
 Nixon, Henry, Clone House, county
 Kilkenny
 Nicholson, Joseph, Bessbrook, Ar-
 magh
 Nelson, William, Newry
 Napier, J. L., Loughcrew, Old Castle,
 county Westmeath
 Newport, William, New Park, Wa-
 terford
 Nicholson, R. James'-street, Dublin
 North, James, Lower Bridge-st. do.
 North, Thomas, ditto
 Napier, William, Belfast
 Napier, William, jun. ditto
 Nicholson, J. New Holland, Armagh
 Newell, George, Lismore
 Neville, J. (J.P.) Annamult, county
 Kilkenny
 Newbold, J. Thomas'-street, Dublin
 Nangle, Walter, Clonbercon, county
 Meath
 Neill, William, Bangor, co. Down

O

O'Brien, William, (Lieut.-Col.) co.
 Clare
 O'Brien, R. (Capt. R.N.) ditto
 O'Callaghan, George, Maryfort
 O'Connor, Henry, Mount Pleasant,
 Dublin
 Orr, William, Strabane, co. Tyrone
 Overard, John, Suffolk-st. Dublin
 Orr, Robert, Merchant's quay, do.
 Ogle, William H. Nelson-street, do.
 Outtersen, Andrew, county Dublin
 Outtersen, Andrew, jun. ditto
 Outley, Edward, Ballyboden, ditto
 Outtersen, James, ditto
 O'Keeffe, Thomas, A.B. T.C.D.
 O'Keeffe, Arthur J.
 O'Donoghue, John, A.B. T.C.D.
 O'Brien, Dunogh, Upper Merrion-
 street, Dublin
 O'Callaghan, A. (clerk) Seville place,
 Dublin

O'Callaghan, William Edw. Wheat-
 field, county Dublin
 O'Callaghan, Andrew, Seville-place,
 Dublin
 Ottuwell, John R. Beresford-place,
 ditto
 Ogilvie, William, Ardglass, co. Down
 Osbrey, Thomas, Rathgar, county
 Dublin
 Outtersen, John, Ballyboden, ditto
 Osborne, John, Cork
 O'Malley, Charles, (J. P.) Hawthorn-
 Lodge, Castlebar
 O'Malley, St. Clair, (J.P.) ditto
 O'Hara, James Arthur, Sligo
 Osbrey, John, Rathgar, co. Dublin
 Ogle, John, (Solicitor) Newry
 O'Neill, John, Fitzwilliam-square,
 Dublin
 O'Connor, H. Tralee
 Ogle, George, (Solicitor) Newry
 Ogle, Samuel, ditto
 Ogle, John, (J.P.) ditto
 O'Malley, Andrew C. (J.P.) New-
 castle, county Mayo
 O'Malley, Owen, Spencer Park,
 Castlebar
 Ogle, John, (Col.) Forkhill, county
 Armagh
 Ogle, Henry, ditto
 Osborn, Walter Richards, Cork
 Oliver, James, Enagh, county Ar-
 magh
 Oliver, Joseph, Tollymore, ditto
 Oliver, Benjamin, Killylean, ditto
 Orr, William, Belfast
 O'Reilly, John A. ditto
 Oldham, H. Newtownards
 Orr, Alexander, Belfast
 Orr, Alexander B. Commercial
 Buildings, Dublin
 O'Brien, J. Waterford
 O'Brien, James, Kilkenny
 Osborne, James, Belfast
 Ogle, John, (J.P.) county Armagh
 O'Brien, John, (M.D.) Dublin
 O'Meagher, Joseph, Blackfield,
 Queen's county
 O'Meagher, Samuel, ditto
 Osborne, William, co. Wicklow
 O'Malley George May, Prospect,
 Eyre-court, county Galway
 Oliver, Thomas, Ashburn, county
 Meath

Patterson, Robert, Bangor, co. Down
 Pollock, John, ditto
 Pollock, William, ditto
 Pollock, James, ditto
 Phillips, Alexander, ditto
 Penrose, James, Woodhill, Cork
 Parker, Nicholas D. Bandon

Q

Quinn, Thomas, Ballybodes, county
 Dublin
 Quilan, Peter, Belfast
 Quinn, James, ditto

R

Roe, Robert, Dublin
 Roe, Henry, ditto
 Robinson, Richard, Parkgate-st. do.
 Rowan, Archibald Hamilton, Killy-
 leagh Castle, county Down
 Robinson, Samuel, National Market,
 Dublin
 Rogers, Adam, (Alderman) Water-
 ford
 Reade, Robert, Mary's Abbey, Dub-
 lin
 Roberts, Paul A. Gt. George's-street,
 ditto
 Rawlins, Thomas, Harcourt-st. ditto
 Robinson, George, Manor-street, do.
 Raper, Richard, county Meath
 Roe, Shephard, Serpentine Avenue,
 county Dublin
 Rumley, Thomas, Stephen's-green,
 Dublin
 Richards, John, Glenn, county Fer-
 managh
 Reynell, Richard, Killyron, county
 Westmeath
 Reynell, Edward, ditto ditto
 Richards, Thomas, L.L.B. T.C.D.
 Reed, John Hamilton, Linenhall-
 street, Dublin
 Reade, James, Liverpool
 Roche, Edw. Trabolgan, co. Cork
 Riall, William, Anneville, county
 Tipperary
 Roche, David, Carass, co. Limerick
 Roche, David, jun. ditto
 Roe, George, Fitzwilliam-st. Dublin

Ruthven, E. S. Oakley Park, Down-
 patrick
 Ruthven, C. Newbury Hall, county
 Kildare
 Richards, L. Van, (J. P.) Rathna-
 speck, Wexford
 Reilly, Thomas, St. Andrew-street,
 Dublin
 Russell, Matthew, Newry
 Richardson, Thomas, ditto
 Russell, John, ditto
 Russell, Matthew, jun. ditto
 Reid, John, ditto
 Risk, Eccles, Usher's-quay, Dublin
 Robinson, Moses, Waterford
 Rawlinson, Richard, Sir John Ro-
 gerson's quay, Dublin
 Richards, Goddard Hewatson,
 Grange, Wexford
 Robinson, John, Tassagh, Armagh
 Riddle, John, Belfast
 Roberts, John, Collon, Belfast
 Rose, Thomas, ditto
 Riall, Arthur, Clonmel
 Roche, Matthew, county Wexford
 Roche, Stephen, ditto
 Rochford, John, Walkerstown, co.
 Dublin
 Regan, William, Rosscarberry, co.
 Cork
 Roche, Jeremiah, Passage, ditto
 Richards, William, Portadown, co.
 Armagh
 Ready, William, Westport, co. Mayo
 Rogers, George Pigott, Rosehill,
 Cork
 Rose, James, Hollywood, county
 Monaghan
 Rankin, George, Sackville-st. Dublin
 Ryan, Henry, Kilfera, Kilkenny
 Robertson, John, High-street, ditto
 Robinson, William, ditto
 Robb, Daniel, county Down
 Rockell, Elisha, Ashbourne, county
 Meath
 Robinson, Alexander, ditto
 Richards, John, Merrion-sq. Dublin
 Russell, Benjamin, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Russell, William, ditto
 Russell, Charles, ditto
 Russell, E. ditto
 Rickey, Hugh, Bangor, co. Down
 Richey, Allen, ditto

Stewart, John W. Waterford
 Sprigg, John, ditto
 Swaine, Joshua, Usher s-qu. Dublin
 Slater, George, Baggot street, ditto
 Stephens, T. Trimhush, co. Dublin
 Staines, Henry, Abbey st. Dublin
 Simpson, James, Aghnacloy
 Smithson, B., L. Bridge-st. Dublin
 Smithson, John, ditto ditto
 Scott, James, Omagh, co. Tyrone
 Sheridan, George, county Mayo
 Sterhag, Walter Jay, (M.D.) Bur-
 ros-in Ossory, Queen's co.
 Smyth, George, county Wexford
 Smyth, William, ditto
 Stoakes, Thomas, county Wicklow
 Smith, Richard, ditto
 Sleator, John, ditto
 Spear, Arthur, Clanbrasil-st. Dublin
 Smyth, Henry, Mounthemy, Port-
 arlington
 St. Laurence, E. (clk.) Archdeacon
 of Ross, county Cork
 Stowell, James L. Kilbrilland, ditto
 Skottowe, H. Carrick-on-Suir
 Smyth, William, Tallow, county
 Waterford
 Simpson, Samuel, Ardee, co. Louth
 Smyth, John, Turbuck, co. Mayo
 Smyth, James, ditto
 Smyth, William, ditto
 Smyth, Thomas, ditto
 Stawell, Charles, Kilbrittan, co. Cork
 Stroud, Thomas, Tallow, county
 Waterford
 Sinclair, J. Belfast
 Skipton, Val. (J.P.) Springfield, co.
 Longford
 Skillieg, Thomas, Crawfordsbourne
 Village, county Down
 Shackleton, Ebenezer, Moone, co.
 Kildare
 Strangman, S. Thurles, county Tip-
 perary
 Shaw, John, ditto ditto
 Strangman, Joshua, ditto
 Shaw, Thomas ditto
 Smyth, Francis, Blessington-street,
 Dublin
 Sampson, Samuel D. Annmount, co.
 Armagh
 Simpson, Thomas, Birch lull, ditto
 Syner, James, (Lieut. 6th Infantry,)
 Bandon, county Cork

Scott, Walter, Gortaglanna, co. Cork
 Scott, Hibernicus, Coolmain, ditto
 Smyth, James, Castlehill, co. Down
 Stewart, Hamilton, Bangor, ditto

T

Trench, William, Cangort Park,
 King's county
 Turbet, Robert, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Twigg, Paul, Great George's-st. do.
 Tighe, Daniel, Rosanna, co. Wicklow
 Tandy, Charles, (Solicitor) Water-
 ford
 Tandy, Francis, Mount Pleasant, Ra-
 nelagh
 Tuite, Hugh, Sonna, Mullingar, co.
 Westmeath
 Tighe, Robert J. Mitchelstown, co.
 Westmeath
 Tighe, Richard Sterne, ditto
 Thompson, James, High-st. Dublin
 Thompson, John, Leixlip
 Trench, Frederick Fitzwilliam, (clk.)
 Perpetual Curate of Cloughjor-
 dan
 Toone, F. Hastings, Ballincor, King's
 county
 Trench, Charles J. Sopwell Hall,
 county Tipperary
 Trench, James, Woodlawn, county
 Galway
 Trench, John, ditto
 Tuite, Samuel, Lower Gardiner st.
 Dublin
 Thompson, Henry William, Stone-
 brook, county Kildare
 Taylor, John, Newbrook, co. Dublin
 Trench, Richard, Elm Lodge, Hants
 Tighe, William S. Woodstock, co.
 Kilkenny
 Turbet, James, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Tonson, Hon Charles L. Rathcor-
 muck
 Turnly, John, Rockport, co. Down
 Taylor, James, Newry
 Thangway, Thomas, Ballyshannon,
 county Donegal
 Trowton, Charles, Newry
 Todd David, ditto
 Trederick, F. Camolin, co. Donegal

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- Tandy, William, Johnsbury, county Meath
 Thompson, Robert, Parkhill, county Armagh
 Tennison, Thomas, Castle Tennison, county Roscommon
 Thornton, R. J. Armagh
 Tennent, William, Belfast
 Tandy, James, Mount Pleasant, co. Dublin
 Thompson, Robert, Ravensdale, co. Armagh
 Thompson, James, Belfast
 Thompson, B. (M.D.) ditto
 Turner, William, ditto
 Tennent, Robert J. ditto
 Tennent, Robert, (M.D.) ditto
 Tralle, Robert, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Thompson, George, North Anne-street, Dublin
 Tennent, Robert James Wm. Belfast
 Thompson, John, Clonsmel
 Taylor, Edwin, Clogheen
 Tapley, John, county Wicklow
 Thompson, William, Cork
 Twigg, Paul, Stafford-st. Dublin
 Thorogood, William, (coroner,) Balbrannigan, county Meath
- U - V
- Ulton, James, Limerick
 Uniacke, R. (Lieut.-Col.) Woodhull, Cork
 Vance, James, Cuffe street, Dublin
 Vogan, James, Armagh
 Vance, Andrew, Bridge-st. Dublin
 Vance, George W. Bishop-st. do.
 Vance, John, Belfast
- W
- Winter, John Pratt, Agher, county Meath
 Ward, Samuel, L.L.D. Dorset-st. Dublin
 Williams, Henry F. (clk.) Dublin
 Wallace, James, Waterford
 Walker, M. C. Leeson-st. Dublin
 White, James, Upper Sackville-st. ditto
 Willans, William, Bridge street, do.
- Watson, William, Sackville-st. Dublin
 Whitfield, Thos. Merchant's-quay, do.
 Whitcroft, John, county Dublin
 Warham, Thomas, jun. Grand Canal Harbour, Dublin
 Whitcroft, John H. jun. Merchant's quay, ditto
 Walsh, Edward, (M.D.) Summerhill, ditto
 Whiteside, James, T.C.D.
 Washam, Thomas, Grand Canal Harbour, Dublin
 Walsh, Richard, Paddinstown, co. Meath
 Walsh, J. D. Eastace-st. Dublin
 Walsh, William, (Alderman,) Waterford
 Watts, John, Fleet-street, Dublin
 Watts, William, Mecklenburgh-st. ditto
 Warham, John, Grand Canal Harbour, ditto
 Williamson, Jonathan, Lakelands, county Dublin
 Ward, Right Hon. Robert, Bangor, county Down
 Waters, Samuel, Tullaghad, co. Meath
 Winter, Francis, (clk.) Agher, do.
 Walsh, James, (late Lieut.-Col.) Mohill, county Leitrim
 Woodcock, William, Enniscorthy, county Wexford
 Williams, Henry, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London—"a visitor in Ireland, whose signature is the result of unprejudiced personal observation"
 Watt, James, Ramelton, county Donegal
 Wentworth, William, Lower Bridge-street, Dublin
 West, John, Ballyboden, county Dublin
 West, Sterling, ditto
 West, Matthew, ditto
 Williams, William, Donnell-st. Dublin
 Walker, Thomas, Fermoy, co. Cork
 Wilson, James
 Watson, Launcelot, Dublin
 Wilson, John, Shamrock Lodge, Drogheda

- Wall, Henry, Elliot-place, Dublin
 Wall, Henry, jun. ditto ditto
 Wall, Edward, ditto ditto
 Williams, Vance, (M.D.) co. Longford
 Walker, Charles A. (J.P.) Belmont, county Wexford
 Walker, Thomas, jun. ditto
 West, Wm. J. G. Great Clonard, do.
 Whitney, Henry, New Ross, ditto
 Weld, Isaac, Ravenwell, co. Dublin
 Walker, Francis Spring, Belleville, co. Limerick
 White, John, (J.P.) Armagh
 White, John, Newry
 Wilson, James, ditto
 Wilson, James, jun. ditto
 Wilson, John Richard, ditto
 Waters, George A. (M.D.) Tramore, co. Waterford
 Waters, George A. jun. ditto
 Wheland, Joseph, Glenvale, Armagh
 Waugh, James, Cavanacan, ditto
 Wynn, Thomas, Lislen, co. Armagh
 Wilson, Thomas, Mountjoy-square, Dublin
 Williams, Josiah, Riverview, Waterford
 Webber, James, ditto
 Walsh, Peter, Bellview, ditto
 Wilson, Thomas, ditto
 Woods, Simon, ditto
 Watkins, Richard, Ardee-st. Dublin
 Watkins, Joseph, ditto
 Wilson, John, Pill-lane, ditto
 Watson, Joshua E. Sallymount, co. Dublin
 Waddy, Cadwallader, Kilmacoe, Wexford
 Workman, Robert, Belfast
 Whittle, F. (J.P.) Castleupton, co. Antrim
 Webb, William, Belfast
 Waller, Thomas, ditto
 Williamson, Robert, (J.P.) Lambeg House, county Antrim
 Williamson, Alexander, ditto
 Wilkinson, Joseph, Barberstown
 White, David, (clk.) Belfast
 Woods, John, Carrickmacross
 Willis, Anthony, Gardiner-street, Dublin
 Walsh, Samuel, Piltown, co. Kilkenny
 White, Edward, county Wicklow
 White, William, ditto
 Woods, Thos. Parsonstown, King's county
 Webb, Robert, Bloomfield, county Dublin
 Wilson, John, Castle Blayney, co. Monaghan
 Wilson, James, Burris, co. Cadow
 Wilson, Thomas B. Cork
 Watt, Charles Wm. Coolnamuck, do.
 Wilson, Thomas, Carrick-on-Suir
 Walsh, Peter, Bellisle, ditto
 Wright, John, ditto
 Walpole, James, Graig, county Kilkenny
 Wilson, Richard, Upper James'-street, Dublin
 Wilson, Richard, jun. ditto
 Wilson, James Gibbon, ditto
 Wetherall, Joseph L. jun. Bellview, Killarney
 White, Patrick, Thurles, co. Tipperary
 Wanston, William S. Bandon, co. Cork
 Wrixon, H.
 Ward, Hon. Wm. Robert, Bangor Castle, county Down
 Wilson, Hill, Bangor, ditto
 Ward, Edward Michael, ditto
 Wilson, Thomas, Kilcaskan, Bandon, county Cork

Y

- Younge, Drelinocurt, Bridge-street, Dublin
 Younge, J. H. James'-gate, Dublin
 Young, Joseph, Bangor, co. Down

*Resolutions passed at the Rotunda
day, 20th January, 1829, his G
Leinster in the Chair.*

Moved by Alderman M'Kenny, se
Drought :—

That Henry Arabin, Esq., and
Groves, be appointed Secretaries to

Moved by the Hon. Robert King
by John David Latouche, Esq. :—

That no portion of our fellow-subje
mined than we are, to maintain th
placed the House of Brunswick on
realms.

Moved by Lord Dunalley, seconde
of Bannow, Esq. :—

That those principles are founded
civil and religious freedom.

Moved by the Earl of Bective, 7
Sir John Newport, Bart., M.P. :—

That being personally interested in
sincerely anxious for the happiness
ourselves called on at the present ala
declare our conviction, that the disqu
ing his Majesty's Roman Catholic
earlier periods were considered essen
nance of the Protestant constitution
through the enlightened character o
to be so, and may with safety to th
repealed.

Moved by the Earl of Milltown, seconded by Lord Clements, M.P. :—

That from the progress of wealth, intelligence, and liberality, which so pre-eminently characterises the present age, the continuance of those disqualifying laws operates most injuriously as a bar to the cessation and oblivion of political discord, and to that union of sentiment and interest on which the internal peace and prosperity of a nation can alone permanently rest.

Moved by Hugh M. Tuite, Esq., M.P., seconded by J. L. Naper, of Loughcrew, Esq. :—

That with respect to Ireland in particular, we are of opinion that those disqualifying laws become a primary cause of disunion, by perpetuating those political discontents and religious animosities which distract the country, endanger the safety of all its institutions, and are alike destructive of social happiness and national prosperity.

Moved by Count Magauley, seconded by Edward Berwick, Esq. :—

That we are further of opinion, that unless the wisdom of the legislature shall apply an immediate remedy to those evils, they will in their progression assume, at an early period, a character which must necessarily augment the difficulties of their removal.

Moved by Charles Brownlow, Esq., M.P., seconded by Sir Thomas Charles Style, Bart. :—

That it is of paramount importance to the welfare of the empire at large, and more especially of Ireland, that the condition of this country should be taken into immediate consideration by parliament, with a view to

Earl of Wicklow	Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. M.P.
Leitrim	Hon. H. Caulfield, M.P.
Clare	Hon. George Ponsonby, M.P.
Gosford	Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, M.P.
Caledon	Charles Brownlow, M.P.
Glengall	Thomas Spring Rice, M.P.
Dunraven	Thomas Lloyd, M.P.
Viscount Goderich	Lucius O'Brien, M.P.
Ebrington	James Grattan, M.P.
Milton	Henry Grattan, M.P.
Ecnismore	Hugh M. Tuite, M.P.
Clements	Henry V. Stuart, M.P.
Duncannon	Charles D. O. Jephson, M.P.
Lord Grenville	Alexander Dawson, M.P.
Dundas	Henry White, M.P.
Rossmore	Peter Van Homrigh, M.P.
Killeen	Arthur French, M.P.
Plunket	And such other noblemen and
Rt. Hon. Sir J. Newport, Bart. M.P.	members of the House of Com-
Right Hon. M. Fitzgerald, M.P.	mons as wish to attend.

Moved by Thomas Wyse, of Waterford, Esq., seconded by the Hon. David Plunket:

That we most earnestly recommend the immediate attendance in parliament of all the peers and members representing Ireland, and that for the sake of our common country, as well as the empire at large, we trust that all party distinctions and jealousies will be buried in oblivion, so that Ireland may enjoy the benefit of their collective and calm consideration of her wants.

Moved by Lord Killeen, seconded by Charles D. O. Jephson, of Mallow, Esq., M.P. :—

That we adopt the sentiments contained in the Protestant declaration, signed by their Graces the Dukes of Leinster and Devonshire, and by seven marquesses, twenty-six earls, eleven viscounts, twenty-two barons, two counts, twenty-two baronets, fifty-two members of the House of Commons, and upwards of two thousand gentlemen of other ranks, all of whom are personally

Anglesey, now read, be adopted by this meeting, and that our noble chairman be requested to transmit the same to his Excellency at his Grace's earliest convenience.

Moved by the Hon. Mr. Preston, seconded by Robert Roe, Esq. :—

That copies of these resolutions and petitions be forwarded to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and the rest of his Majesty's ministers, calling their attention to the deplorable situation of this country, and requiring them to give peace, and above all, religious peace, to Ireland ; which, by benefiting the state, will confer a benefit upon every individual in it.

Moved by Robert Challoner, of Coolatyn Park, Esq., seconded by Walter Berwick, Esq. :—

That the thanks of the country and of this meeting, are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the noblemen and gentlemen who constituted the committee for the Protestant declaration, the dinner to Lord Morpeth, and the arrangements of this meeting, and we do earnestly request, that they will individually and collectively continue their exertions for the success of the great cause in which we are engaged—"the religious peace of Ireland ;" and that the noblemen and gentlemen who have moved and seconded these resolutions be added to the committee.

LEINSTER, Chairman.

The Duke of Leinster having left the chair, and the Right Honourable the Earl of Milltown having been called thereto, it was

APPENDIX.

Moved by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., seconded by Richard Sheil, Esq. :—

That the thanks of the country, and more especially of this meeting, are pre-eminently due, and are hereby given, to his Grace the Duke of Leinster, the premier noble of Ireland, not only for his dignified and impartial conduct in the chair this day, but for his undeviating attachment and devotion to the true interests of Ireland.

MILLTOWN, Chairman.

EDWARD GROVES, }
HENRY ARABIN, } Secretaries.

Address to his Majesty, adopted at the Rotunda Meeting, on Tuesday, 20th January, 1829.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Noblemen and Gentlemen undersigned.

May it please your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to approach your throne with assurances of our unalterable fidelity and attachment to your Majesty's royal person and government.

Reigning by the free voice of a proud and brave people, your Majesty holds the crown of these realms by the highest of all titles—the clearest of all legitimacies; we venerate you as the guardian of just laws, and the last perfection of a noble constitution. You rule in the interests of your people—your throne has

the best security for any throne, the enlightened confidence of your subjects.

No portion of your Majesty's loyal people are more truly devoted than we are to the principles which placed the illustrious House of Brunswick on the throne.

We conceive these principles to be founded on the basis of civil and religious freedom.

It is to the diffusion of these great gifts we attribute the gradual union, the industry, the wealth, the intelligence, the consequent prosperity, and the only permanent security, of any state. In proportion as the citizen derives advantages from the constitution under which he lives, he will naturally give back to the preservation of that constitution his zealous and persevering support.

Your Majesty was graciously pleased, on the memorable occasion on which you honoured these shores with your royal presence, to impress upon the mind of your faithful Irish subjects these important truths; and it is not without a deep recognition of their value, we still hold in our recollection the conciliatory terms of your Majesty's parting advice.

But with profound regret, we venture to represent to your Majesty, that little benefit has yet accrued to this distracted nation from your Majesty's paternal counsels. Instead of the cordiality and union which your Majesty had so emphatically recommended, the whole land is divided into two adverse parties, measuring each other's strength in silence, or menacing open and undisguised hostilities abroad—corrupting to evil all the sources of national good—disturbing in their course the beneficial

influences of the constitution—less character of faction—irritating, by generous stimulants, the entire nation embittering every variety of social shaking to the foundation that must out which all government is difficult frame of civil society must ultimately

Industry, deprived of all its strength languishes—commerce, uninvited by rity, flies our shores—manufactures capital, have almost disappeared—rurally agricultural, is not adequate population; the surplus emigrates wretchedness, to the more prosperous Majesty's dominions, or passing on session of disasters at home, from from want to malady—perish, at the visitations of pestilence or famine.

The consequences of these evils universal; they are commensurate with The Protestant is not more exempt but, on the contrary, in proportion to and station in the community, is exposed to their injurious effects. The individual in their influence, and relations of every individual whom

And your faithful and loyal subject to represent to your gracious Majesty of these calamities is not restricted that such a state of things must require establishment for its support; that

necessitates a corresponding taxation of the country; that the country, by the repression of its natural energies and resources, is unequal to this supply; and that thus this kingdom, instead of being a source of strength, is, by a singular anomaly in government, a source of weakness to the united empire.

Your petitioners would willingly believe that these evils were of a temporary nature, removable by temporary expedients; but they have reason to apprehend that, instead of diminishing, they will gradually increase, unless prevented, ere it be too late, by a patient and impartial inquiry into their causes, and the generous application of a full and final remedy to their cure. Their continuance will prepare for the first aggression of foreign foes a long-accumulating spirit of dissatisfaction in the country—it will invite the insult and injury of surrounding nations—it will paralyse the national forces of the state—it will detract from the moral strength and character which enabled England so long to hold the first rank in European civilization, and materially endanger, and perhaps ultimately compromise, the safety of the entire British empire.

Your petitioners cannot ascribe these evils to any defect in the moral or physical condition of the country itself; they are compelled to seek elsewhere for the fertile source of those calamities. They see, in the partial distribution of the burdens and rewards of the state, the exclusion of one part of the people from the franchises and rights enjoyed by the other, a just and enduring principle of discontent, further exasperated by religious animosity, the parent of that national disunion

APPENDIX.

from which every other national evil must necessarily proceed.

It does not, however, escape the attention of your humble petitioners, that this exclusion may originally have been intended for the better maintenance of the constitution and religion of the state; but they respectfully submit to the consideration of your Majesty whether, on the extinction of the causes which required such guarantee, these restrictions on the liberty of the subject should not also be repealed.

And it is the further conviction of your Majesty's humble petitioners that these causes have long since so disappeared—and this opinion is grounded on the policy of other states, in reference to this country—the cessation of all external menace or attack; the suppression of all pretensions to the throne of these realms, and the increasing liberality and enlightened feeling of every class and persuasion in the present times.

Your petitioners are therefore satisfied, that the removal of the disabilities under which their Catholic fellow-subjects still labour, so far from being attended with any peril to the institutions of these realms, would, on the contrary, by a removal of all just ground of complaint, most eminently tend to coalesce all sects and orders in the country, in united exertions for their common support; and thus, by "*benefiting the state, would confer a benefit upon every individual belonging to it.*"

And in this belief your petitioners are more fully confirmed, by the gracious message of your Majesty's royal Father to his Irish parliament in 1793, in which he was pleased to recommend such measures as might be

most likely to strengthen the general union and sentiment amongst all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution; and in which his Majesty was further pleased to point out the relief of his Catholic subjects of Ireland, from the disqualifications by which they were affected, as the means best calculated to ensure this desirable result.

And your petitioners gratefully remember, that your Majesty has professed, on more than one occasion, towards your faithful people of Ireland, a favour and affection not inferior to that evinced by your royal Father. May we then implore your Majesty, graciously to interpose the noblest exercise of your royal prerogative in their behalf? may we implore you to allow the inhabitants of this distracted but generous country to dedicate their undivided energies—now exerted chiefly against each other—to the augmenting the resources, the ennobling the character, and elevating the glory and prosperity, of their native land? And may your Majesty be pleased, with the least possible delay, to recommend to your parliament to take into their most serious consideration, the alarming and wretched state of this portion of your Majesty's dominions, with a view to such final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the stability of our national institutions, and to the general concord of your Majesty's loyal subjects; so may your Majesty more fully reign in the hearts of a grateful people, and transmit your crown with additional lustre to posterity.

APPENDIX.

A petition to the Houses of Lords and Commons, conveying similar sentiments, &c. was also adopted by the meeting.

An address from the same petitioners to the Marquess of Anglesey was likewise proposed and adopted, declaratory of "those principles of civil and religious freedom which are the bond of their union, and were the guide of his Lordship's counsels," and which now induced them to join "the voice of a multitudinous people, uplifted to mourn an event, whose painful interest has been able (words of no light import) for a season to suspend the universal discordance, to unite all orders in one common sentiment of sorrow, and to show that the passions which have disturbed our judgments have not yet softened our hearts."

Marquess of Anglesey's Answer.

Uxbridge House, April 14th, 1829.

My Lord Duke—My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received, with the highest gratification, the address with which you have been pleased to honour me, on my retirement from the government of Ireland.

When it reached me, the happy measure, which it was your object to promote, was already under the consideration of the legislature; and I, therefore, deferred offering my acknowledgments for your personal kindness to me, in the hope that I should soon be enabled to add to them, as I now most joyfully do, my sincere congratulations upon the accomplishment of the great good which you desired for your country.

To the parental solicitude of his Majesty for the general happiness of his people, to the sound counsel of his ministers, and, finally, to the liberality and wisdom of parliament, the empire is indebted for this glorious act of true policy, grace, and justice.

The whole British constitution is now, for the first time, extended to the whole people of Ireland. As they enjoy the same liberties, so may they derive the same benefits from it—the same peace, prosperity, and happiness, which it has so long conferred upon Great Britain.

To secure those blessings to Ireland, it is only necessary that her people act in the spirit which brought you so auspiciously together; and that they should continue to practise that forbearance and good-will towards each other, which distinguished their conduct through the whole of the late proceedings in Ireland, and which so mainly contributed to bring them the desired result.

Allow me, in conclusion, to assure you, that I shall ever feel the sincerest devotion to the interests of Ireland, and the deepest gratitude for all the kindness I have experienced from her.

I have the honour to be,

ANGLESEY.

To his Grace the Duke of Leinster, &c.

No. XXXII.

*Formation of the Society of the Fr
Religious Liberty.*

Royal Hotel, College Green, Dublin,
21st January, 1829—William S.
Esquire, in the chair;

It was unanimously

Resolved, That in pursuance of the
motion, agreed to at the meeting of the
Society of the Fr Religious Liberty, held yesterday,
that a committee of forty persons,
and twenty Catholics, be now appointed
from the list of nobility and gentry
who concurred in those proceedings,
considering the most effectual means
for the permanent junction of Catholics and
Protestants in order to insure a continuance of their
success in the cause in which we
“the religious peace of Ireland.”

Resolved, That the following gentlemen,
together with the chairman,
the committee

John D. La	Charles D. La
John D. La	William D.
John D. La	Richard Na
Lord Cloncurry	James Sine
Lord Riversdale	John D. La
Lord Rossmore	William Sh
Rt. Hon. Sir John Newport	Robert Roc
Sir Charles St. John, Bart.	George Gri
Sir Charles Morgan	W. W. Ber
Hugh M. Tuite, Esq. M.P.	John M. M
Charles Brownlow, Esq. M.P.	Lord Killee

Lord Gormanstown
 Sir Thomas Esmonds, Bart.
 Sir Richard Nagle, Bart.
 Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M.P.
 Richard Sheil, Esq.
 Thomas Wyse, Esq.
 William Sweetman, Esq.
 Nicholas Mahon, Esq.
 William Murphy, Esq.
 Nicholas P. O'Gorman, Esq.

James O'Gorman Mahon, Esq.
 Gerald Dense, Esq.
 James John Bagott, Esq.
 George Taffee, Esq.
 Richard Moore O'Ferrall, Esq.
 Michl. Francis Coppinger, Esq.
 William Grainger, Esq.
 John Maher, Esq.
 Barthw. Corballis, Esq.

Moved by Lord Killeen, seconded by Earl Beective,
 and

Resolved, That the Rev. Edward Groves be requested to give his most valuable services as secretary; also,

That the committee do make a report on Saturday.

Adjourned at five o'clock.

Royal Hotel, College Green, Dublin, Thursday, 22nd
 January, 1829—The Right Hon. Lord Rossmore in
 the chair;

Resolved, That no proceedings are to have publicity until they shall have received the sanction of the committee.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be added to the committee,

Joseph Stone, Esq.
 Richard P. Leader, Esq.
 Edward Berwick, Esq.

Pierce Mahony, Esq.
 Count Magawley
 Dominick O'Reilly, Esq.

Resolved, That the committee do stand as at present constituted, without further addition.

Resolved, That the committee is of opinion, that for the sake of our common country, as well as of the empire at large, all party and sectarian distinctions and jealousies should be buried in oblivion, and that all persons

Friday, 23rd January, 1829—The Right Hon. Lord Rossmore in the chair ;

The minutes of the last meeting having been read, it was

Resolved, That it is our opinion that a society should be formed, to be called “ The Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty of all religious Denominations,” for the sole purpose of promoting the principles contained in the resolutions of the late meeting at the Rotunda ; and that our secretary be requested to communicate the present resolution to the noblemen and gentlemen who have signed the Protestant Declaration and the requisition for the said meeting, and to others, in order to ascertain as speedily as possible their concurrence to the same.

Moved by Thos. Wyse, Esq.

Seconded by T. L. Naper, Esq.

Resolved, That this committee do take immediate steps to convene the friends of civil and religious freedom in London, before the discussion of the great question of Catholic emancipation in Parliament.

Moved by P. Mahony, Esq.

Seconded by John Latouche, Esq.

Resolved, That this committee do adjourn till Wednesday the fourth day of February next, on its rising.

Moved by Sir Charles Morgan.

Seconded by Barth. Corballis, Esq.

Resolved, That the following noblemen and gentlemen do form a sub-committee, for the purpose of con-

vening the meeting in London, with number.

The Duke of Leinster	Charles
Earl of Darnley	C. D. J.
Lord Dunally	T. S. B.
Sir John Newport, Bart.	Arthur
James Grattan, Esq.	Sir Hen
Henry Grattan, Esq.	Pierce

Moved by P.

Seconded by

Resolved, That the first resolution be published in all the Dublin papers

Moved by D. C.

Seconded by T.

No. XXXII

CATHOLIC RE

Details of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1826.

COUNTY	
1	Antrim
2	Armagh
3	Cork
4	County
5	County
6	Cavan
7	Donegal
8	Down
9	Dublin
10	Meath
11	Fermanagh
12	County

13	Kerry	.	.	.	£381	15	7½
14	Kildare	.	.	.	567	4	10½
15	Kilkenny	.	.	.	749	19	10
16	King's	.	.	.	549	3	3½
17	Leitrim	.	.	.	148	2	9
18	Louth	.	.	.	689	2	8½
19	Limerick	.	.	.	548	8	11
20	Longford	.	.	.	168	7	1
21	Londonderry	.	.	.	144	2	0
22	Monaghan	.	.	.	194	15	10
23	Mayo	.	.	.	293	6	0½
24	Queen's	.	.	.	257	0	5½
25	Roscommon	.	.	.	166	7	0
26	Sligo	.	.	.	164	14	3½
27	Tipperary	.	.	.	1648	7	6½
28	Tyrone	.	.	.	65	10	7
29	Westmeath	.	.	.	526	19	9
30	Wicklow	.	.	.	174	14	7
31	Wexford	.	.	.	504	1	0
32	Waterford	.	.	.	738	11	4½
					<hr/>		
					£16,895	18	11½
Subscriptions					.	.	.
					2,224	4	5
Interest on government se-							
curities					.	.	.
					144	0	0
					<hr/>		
					£19,228	3	4½
Paid sundry expenses from							
Dec. 31, 1824, to March							
18, 1825							
					.	.	.
					4,331	11	6½
					<hr/>		
Total,					£14,896	11	10
					<hr/>		

DR. CATHOLIC FUND

1825.

March 18. To sundry payments made
to during this period, and
Dec. 16. change of currency

1826. £1049: 17: 9 Irish, at

Jan. 22. To sundry payments
Balance in treasurer's
£16,150 government
security for repayment

CR. CATHOLIC FUND

1825. By securities and cash

March 18. hand this day .
By interest on several
securities from July 7
Dec. 3 .
By balance do. per Mr
Hayes .

1826. Exchange at Par is

Jan. 13. By interest on government
stock to this day

*Summary of Catholic Rent for the years 1825,
1826, 1827, 1828, 1829.*

Rent received			
to March 1825	.	£16,212	11 4
Dec. 1826	. . .	6,261	9 9
Dec. 1827	. . .	3,066	15 7
Dec. 1828	. . .	21,424	19 1
Feb. 1829	. . .	5,300	0 0
		<hr/>	
		52,263	15 9
Interests and receipts at			
door of Corn Exchange		2,617	5 0
		<hr/>	
		54,883	0 9
		<hr/>	

CATHOLIC RENT FROM AMERICA.

Since the dissolution of the Association, the following letter has been received from America:—

To the Catholic Association of Ireland.

Patriots, Friends, and Brothers,

The undersigned have been appointed a special committee by "The Association of the Friends of Ireland in Charleston," to transmit to "the Catholic Association of Ireland" an address accompanying their first remittance of one thousand dollars, for which they have purchased a bill of exchange, drawn by Magwood, Patterson, and Co., of this city. upon I. O. Johnson, of Liverpool, and made payable in London, to the order of Daniel O'Connell, or Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, and which is herewith remitted.

great and glorious as it is, they find you warmly and devotedly attached. Receive their mites, therefore, rather as evidences of their affection for men of sound principle, than as the measure by which they estimate your deserts.

They perceive that you have judiciously used the means already entrusted to your care, in enlightening the ignorant, in protecting the oppressed, in restraining petty despotism, in vindicating and asserting the right of extended suffrage, in guarding against the establishment of an influence which would stretch the power of the executive over the liberties of the people, beyond those limits which the ancient and pure constitution of Great Britain had provided; and hence they rejoice at the prospect of your receiving additional funds from your friends at this side of the Atlantic—the friends of Ireland, the friends of rational liberty, the friends of the meritorious, though oppressed; they are cheered by the emission of new rays, which promise increasing splendour to your hopes from this hemisphere.

They have been seriously gratified at witnessing your exertions to preserve peace and to promote conciliation amongst Irishmen; they have prayed for your success, and been grateful to God for having blessed your efforts; and thankful to the Irish people for having obediently followed the advice of you their best friends. May this spirit continue amongst you and them! Your strength is to be found in union; your victory will be achieved by moderation; your opponents will be vanquished only by your firmness, your patience, and your forbearance. The constitution of your country furnishes the only means

No. XXXIV.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FRAMING PETITIONS
TO PARLIAMENT.

(Circular.)

Corn Exchange, Dublin, January 1, 1829.

Reverend Sir,

It is deemed of vital importance to the Catholic cause, that petitions should be presented in the ensuing session of parliament from *every parish in Ireland*. To facilitate the attainment of this great end, it has been considered expedient to furnish you with the annexed models of petitions, from which you may select one that appears to you most suitable. These models are not transmitted with the view of dictating to any individual, or set of men, but merely saving them trouble. It is not deemed necessary, that any of these models should be selected by you, or at the meeting at which you may preside. All may be rejected—and when this can be done with convenience, it is decidedly the better course; sentences may be taken from each—corrections or alterations may be made in them—passages may be introduced, and passages omitted—in short, any thing may be done with these models, which may be thought desirable; and the Association only entreat, that at all events *some* form of petition may be adopted in each parish throughout Ireland.

&c. Humbly Sheweth." Care should always be taken to have some signatures on the sheet containing the form of words of the petition, otherwise it will not be received by the House. The greatest exertions should be made to obtain a number of signatures. Every person in the chapel, or in the parish, who can write, should be called upon to subscribe his name.

The most effective mode of procuring signatures is to place a table, with pen and ink, at each chapel door, and to apprise each congregation of the circumstance from the altar. Another mode is to appoint some person to take the ruled sheets about from house to house.

Petitions may be sent forward to the respective county or other members from each parish, and through the post-office, the ends being left open like a newspaper, and "Parliamentary Petition" written on the cover. Petitions may also be forwarded to the Secretary to the Catholic Association, Corn Exchange, Dublin. It would be desirable, in order to avoid the expense of carriage, to send them by private hand; they should never be sent through the post-office when that can be avoided, or otherwise than as a coach parcel. When they are sent directly to the individual requested to present them, a letter should be written to the Secretary to the Catholic Association, mentioning the fact of their having been forwarded, and mentioning also, the name of the member selected to present them, the day on which they were forwarded, and especially the number of signatures each petition contained.

or any original petition on each of these subjects, should be passed at every meeting. The trouble attending one will be nearly the same as that attending three; but the great importance of three being passed at the same meeting will be manifest, when it is recollected, that if there be only seven hundred meetings convened (the number supposed to have been assembled last year), there will be above two thousand petitions produced, or as many as will furnish between twenty and thirty petitions for presentation, during each night of the sitting of parliament, throughout the entire session. Every person who signs one petition should sign the three, and should sign a copy, as well for the Lords as the Commons.

It is respectfully submitted, that in the general petition some clause or sentence should be introduced, declaratory of the public feeling on the all important subject of national education.

In conclusion, the Association deem it right to repeat, that these models are sent merely to save time and trouble, and that in all instances in which original petitions can be conveniently drawn up, they should be preferred to any of the models.

Your most obedient servant,

EDWARD DWYER,

Secretary to the Catholic Association.

*Offices to which Catholics are eligible by Law in
Ireland.*

	Number of Offices.	Catho- lica.
In Chancery	73	0
Insolvent Court	10	1
King's Bench	28	3
Common Pleas	32	1
Exchequer	56	2
Exchequer Chamber	13	0
Revenue Appeals	4	0
Admiralty	10	0
Taxing Officers of Law Courts	2	0
Civil Bill Court	2	0
City of Dublin Record Court	4	0
County of Dublin Sessions	2	0
Dublin, inferior Courts	19	0
Registry Office for Deeds	4	0
Benchers	48	1
Assistant Barristers of Counties	32	2
Clerks of the Peace	39	0
Clerks of the Crown	12	0
Crown Solicitors	8	0
Crown Circuit Court, say	20	1
Court of Delegates	1	0
Court of Prerogative	19	0
Metropolitan and Consistorial Courts	100	1
Office of Charitable Donations	3	0
Ouzel Galley Society	36	1
Valuation Commissioners	4	0
Police Magistrates of Dublin	18	0
Association for Improvement of Prisons	47	0

*Offices of Civil Rank, or of Honour, from which
Catholics are excluded by Law in Ireland.*

Lord Lieutenant	.	.	.	.	1
Chief Secretary	.	.	.	.	1
Peers of Parliament	.	.	.	.	28
Members of the House of Commons	.	.	.	.	100
Lord Chancellor	.	.	.	.	1
Keeper of the Privy Seal	.	.	.	.	1
Vice-Treasurer	.	.	.	.	1
Teller of the Exchequer	.	.	.	.	1
Auditor-General	.	.	.	.	1
Governors of Counties	.	.	.	.	73
Custodes Rotulorum	.	.	.	.	32
Secretary to Lord Lieutenant	.	.	.	.	1
Members of Privy Council	.	.	.	.	63
Attorney-General	.	.	.	.	1
Postmasters-General	.	.	.	.	2
Sheriffs	.	.	.	.	48
Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin	.	.	.	.	25
Officers of Corporations	.	.	.	.	400
					<hr/>
					780

It is right to observe, that some of the above are included in the list of persons connected with the administration of justice.

	Number of officers.	Catho- lics.
Dublin Police	18	0
Corporation for preserving the Port of Dub- lin and Officers	31	1
Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour	13	0
Bank of Ireland, Directors and Chief Officers	33	0
College of Physicians	37	1
Local Army and Navy Surgeons	4	■
Oculist	1	0
Officers of Treasury	29	0
Do. Customs	151	7
Do. Excise	161	10
Do. Stamps	42	1
Do. General Post-Office	53	0
Trustees of the Linen Manufacture	72	0
Officers of Linen Board	57	2
Treasurers of Counties	39	0
Secretaries of Grand Juries	38	1
Commercial Buildings Company	20	1
Apothecaries' Hall	19	0
Commissioners of Education Inquiry and Officers	7	1
General Board of Health	14	0
Commissioners and Officers of Lunatic Asy- lum	10	0
St. Patrick's Hospital	14	0
Richmond Lunatic Asylum	24	1
House of Industry	31	1
Stevens's Hospital	23	■
Mercers' Hospital	25	0

	Number of Offices.	Cath- lica.
Society for Sheltering Females Discharged	8	■
St Peter's Parish Savings Bank	14	0
Dublin Library Society	26	15
Officers thereof	3	■
Dublin Institution	2	0
Royal Irish Institution for promoting Fine Arts	34	1
Royal Hibernian Academy of Painting, &c.	14	0
Farming Society of Ireland	26	0
Royal Dublin Society for improving Hus- bandry and other useful Arts	29	2
Royal Irish Academy for promoting Science	33	0
Officers of Military Department	100	2
Army Agents	5	0
Militia Staff Officers	228	6
Brigade Majors of Yeomanry	10	0
Commissariat	10	0
Army Medical Department	9	1
State Surgeons	9	2
Military Account Office	23	2
Ordnance, Civil Branch	81	4
Barrack-Masters	91	4
Hibernian Society for the Care of Soldiers' Children	47	0
Hibernian Marine Society for the Care of Soldiers' Children	50	0
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, for old Soldiers	20	1
General Military Hospital	3	1
Kildare Place Society, for Education of the Poor of Ireland	43	8

any foundation whatever for the charges against a body, which has uniformly inculcated an obedience to the laws, and endeavoured to effect the pacification of the country ; but that we are influenced by a disposition to yield to the advice of our parliamentary friends, by a solicitude to mitigate prejudice, and above all by an anxiety to take away every ground for insisting that we are throwing obstacles in the way of that final and conciliatory measure of justice, which we trust is in progress for our complete, unqualified, and unconditional relief.

These resolutions were followed by a strong protest against any interference with the forty-shilling freeholders, or the discipline of the Catholic church of Ireland ; and votes of thanks were passed to the Marquess of Anglesey ; their Protestant fellow-countrymen who assisted them in their struggle ; to the Catholic clergy of Ireland ; to Richard Sheil, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, John Lawless, Lord Killeen, Edward Dwyer, and Eneas M'Donnell, for their successful and strenuous exertions in the Catholic cause ; and finally it was resolved,

That as the last act of this body on the point of dissolution, we do declare, that we are indebted to Daniel O'Connell, beyond all other men, for its original creation and sustinment ; and that he is entitled, for the achievement of its freedom, to the everlasting gratitude of Ireland.

N. B. The successful issue of the object of this meeting was mainly to be attributed to the powerful efforts of Mr. Sheil. Letters were also read at the meeting from Mr. O'Connell (then in London) disap-

in Ireland! You have seen the testimony he bore to the rectitude of our motives. He does, indeed, deserve the eternal gratitude of Ireland.

I trust that the most strenuous efforts will be made to continue the universal collection of the Catholic Rent, until we see the hour of our political dissolution approach. There is no use in any other scheme to attain emancipation than that by which we have arrived thus far, by *constitutional agitation*. The ministry have not the slightest necessity to pass any law to stab the constitution in order to reach the Association—not the slightest—that is, if they mean fairly by Ireland. If, indeed, they intend not to ameliorate the condition of our country, nor to produce religious peace, but merely to exchange one species of servitude for another, then, indeed, there is a distant object for which the minister will be disposed to annihilate our present constitutional privileges. At this moment, I do not understand the meaning of that most preposterous proceeding of suppressing an association, which “they tell us” they are otherwise about to kill with kindness.

My earnest advice (which I offer with the most respectful deference) is to pause before any one act is done on our part to recognise the guilt with which we are so unjustly charged. The Association should not, in my humble judgment, be dissolved by any act of ours before emancipation, complete and unconditional. If the constitution is to be trampled under foot, let it be the act of our enemies.

I have not the least idea of what are to be the ministerial terms of emancipation. The expression itself is an unhappy one. I will not anticipate; but this I will

The Secretary read the following Letter:—

London, February 6, 1829.

My dear Sir,

Having given the best consideration to the proceedings of yesterday, and the suggestions of many of our most esteemed friends, and taken into account the declaration of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, as to the intended measure of relief, I cannot any longer hesitate in recommending that the Association should mark its sense of the obligations due to his Majesty; and, in respect towards the Sovereign, display its readiness to meet the royal will by an immediate adjournment for two or three months; so as to remove all plausible obstacles that our enemies may ground on an alleged disregard on our part of the wishes of his Majesty.

I should have taken this course yesterday, were I not anxious to avoid any recommendation that could be construed into a compromise of character; but I think that the speech of Lord Anglesey has removed every difficulty on this head, and that it would be a waste of your labours and anxieties were you to raise any by battles on the topic.

I should, however, suggest the propriety of your closing your labours for the present with a resolution of a vindictory character, firm but temperate; and a cordial and affectionate address to your Protestant fellow-subjects, urging oblivion of the past, and a general national offering of an undivided people to their Sovereign.

If my views should be acted upon, promptitude is most essential to the attainment of their object.

The Secretary read the following Letter, which was ordered to be inserted on the minutes :—

February 6th, 1829, Torquay, Devon.

Dear Sir,

I have just read his Majesty's speech. The great event—the desired of our forefathers—for which they and their descendants have now toiled for more than half a century—is about to take place. The regeneration of Ireland is approaching. In a few weeks we shall no longer form two distinct people. The Catholic and Protestant will rise into Irishmen. We shall have at last a country to glory in.

In such a moment of general exultation, it is of more than ordinary importance that we should conduct ourselves with that good sense and dignity which are befitting the post and bearing of a delivered nation. We have suffered much in a righteous cause, and owe our redemption not less to our own untameable spirit than to the favourable circumstances which have lately awarded it. Let us look about, and meet the Sovereign and the legislature, *pari passu*, with the steady manliness and cordial gratitude which become us. Let us march with them side by side. There is no need of prostration and servility on our side ; neither is there for indecent and debasing triumph on the other.

The Association is to be suppressed ; but his Majesty's most gracious recommendation, the simple promise of justice, has already virtually suppressed it. The Association arose out of popular grievance—out of popular complaint. It was the expression, not the substance—the effect, not the cause. The people had it in their

liberate and act up to the present moment; and, inasmuch as such restitution has been now recommended by his most gracious Majesty to his present parliament, we do now consider the existence of such a body no longer necessary, and that, deeply impressed with its services, which we commit with confidence to the adjudgment of posterity, we solemnly declare its dissolution advisable, and that hereby such dissolution has actually taken place."

There may be a few, perhaps, to whom such a proposition may appear objectionable; but I beg them to consider whether the present is not a period when mutual sacrifice is both noble and necessary. Should the people stand back when the government has come half way?

The true secret will thus have been discovered to effect that which defied the utmost ingenuity of legislative enactment. It will be a glorious precedent in our free history; a lesson of wisdom to be read to our children, that one word of justice is worth a thousand penal statutes, and that no government is stronger than that which finds its support in the affections and gratitude of a happy people.

At the same time I am not one of those, I beg it to be understood, who, though their fetters are loosened, can altogether forget the slave. I call for no unseemly rejoicing, no idle homage for tardy justice. Let our thanks be like those of the Dissenters, brief, just, and emphatic. We now receive what for seventy years we have been contending for. It is the well-won reward of patient and persevering effort. We owe much to his

testants and Catholics of Ireland, for the attainment of their common object, the "religious peace of Ireland," and held at the Royal Hotel, College-green, Dublin, on Friday, 13th February, 1820,

JOHN DAVID LA TOUCHE, Esq. in the chair—

Moved by Sir Richard Nagle, Bart., seconded by Sir T. Charles Morgan, and

Unanimously resolved, That his Majesty having graciously recommended to parliament to take such measures as will restore tranquillity to his people, and his Majesty's ministers having, in accordance thereto, pledged themselves to introduce a measure for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics of the empire, we feel that we shall best express our gratitude, and show our confidence in the legislature, by discontinuing the meetings of this committee, whose great object now appears so near the happiest consummation.

Moved by James Sinclair, Esq., seconded by Sir Thomas Charles Style, Bart., and

Unanimously resolved, That this committee, at its rising, do dissolve.

Moved by Walter Berwick, Esq., seconded by Nicholas P. Leader, Esq., and

Unanimously resolved, That the conduct of our Catholic fellow-countrymen, on the present occasion, merits our warmest approbation; and we particularly feel, that the generous confidence in the promises of government, which they have shown by the dissolution of their Association, demonstrates that they are men

and of sound policy, removing the badge of inferiority from the Catholic, without encroaching upon the rights or privileges of the Protestant—destroying invidious distinctions and unjust preferences, which poisoned the intercourse of social life, and sapped the foundation of public prosperity—that we prize this measure chiefly because it puts an end to every pretext for discord and dissention between the inhabitants of our common country, and the subjects of our common Sovereign, and leaves us leisure to combine the virtuous energies of the entire community in a general effort to maintain its honour, and to promote its prosperity.

Moved by David Lynch, Esq., seconded by James Dwyer, Esq. :

That while those opinions have been long familiar to the minds of the Roman Catholics of this country, and their numerous, highly gifted, and distinguished supporters of every other religious persuasion, we cannot forget that there is a portion of our fellow-countrymen whose sentiments are of an opposite character. We would, therefore, strongly recommend to our fellow-citizens to abstain from any demonstrations of triumph, such as bonfires, illuminations, &c. which, not emanating from the constituted authorities, might compromise the public peace, or by possibility give offence to men whose opinions, however erroneous, are in some instances the result of honest conviction.

Moved by Richard Sheil, Esq., seconded by Arthur Guinness, Esq. :

That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Morning and Evening papers, and that handbills and

On the motion of the Duke of Leinster, seconded by Lord Stourton,

It was resolved, That we feel it to be our duty to express our gratitude to his Majesty for his gracious assent given to the bill for the Relief of the Protestant Dissenters in the last session of parliament, and for his generous recommendation, at the opening of this session, that a full participation of civil rights should be granted to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, in conformity with his Majesty's royal constitutional declaration—"That his power was held for the benefit of his people."

On the motion of the Marquess of Downshire, seconded by Lord Dundas,

It was resolved, That an address congratulating his Majesty on the success of his gracious recommendation to parliament for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, which was adopted by both houses with unexampled majorities, be now prepared.

On the motion of Lord Clifford, seconded by Lord Dunally,

It was resolved, That the address to our gracious Sovereign now read be adopted; and that our noble chairman do sign the same in our behalf; and that he be requested either to present or transmit the same, according to his Majesty's pleasure.

On the motion of Lord Stafford, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Courtney,

It was resolved, That we also feel it our duty sincerely to congratulate all classes and parties in this great empire on the happy adjustment of questions, so long

On the motion of Thomas Moore, Esq., seconded by James Corry, Esq.

It was resolved, That we must ever bear in mind how much the great cause of religious freedom owes to the many illustrious persons, both living and dead, who have lent their powerful aid to its advancement.

On the motion of James Grattan, Esq., M.P., seconded by F. S. Flood, Esq.

It was resolved, That, in order to perpetuate to the remotest generations these feelings of just acknowledgment, and at the same time to record—that religious freedom was won by the same great captain who restored national independence to Europe, and gave security to this empire—a voluntary subscription be now entered into for the purpose of erecting, in or near Dublin, a statue of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, commemorative of this the most glorious of his public services.

On the motion of O’Gorman Mahon, Esq., seconded by Thomas Wyse, Jun. Esq.

It was resolved, That our committee be hereby empowered to record on the pedestal of the statue just voted, the names of those illustrious men, as well the dead as the living, who, in either house of parliament, have at different periods supported the measure of Catholic emancipation which has now passed into a law, under the benignant auspices of his Majesty.

On the motion of Lieut. Gen. Thornton, seconded by the Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, M.P.

It was resolved, That our committee be empowered to receive subscriptions, and that they be requested to open accounts for that purpose with such of the principal

on the successful termination of their exertions, which so eminently contributed to carry the great measure by which religious peace has been given to this empire, and more especially to Ireland.

On the motion of the Rev. Michael Keating, seconded by John Wright, Esq.

It was resolved, That the following noblemen and gentlemen do constitute a committee (with liberty to add to their numbers), in order to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect :

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk,	Lord Nugent, M. P.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire,	Lord Riversdale,
His Grace the Duke of Leinster,	Lord Concurry,
The Marquess of Downshire,	Lord Rossmore,
Earl Fitzwilliam,	Lord Dunally,
Earl of Cork and Orrery,	Lord A. Hill, M. P.
Earl of Darnley,	Right Hon. Lord Francis L. Gower,
Earl of Besborough,	M. P.
Earl of Shannon,	Honourable John Boyle, M. P.
Earl of Miltown,	Honourable A. Cavendish Bradshaw,
Earl of Kingston,	Honourable George Dawson Damer,
Earl of Portarlington,	Honourable G. Agar Ellis, M. P.
Earl of Clare,	Honourable R. Fitzgibbon, M. P.
Earl of Lestrim,	Honourable W. Booth Grey,
Earl of Gosford,	Honourable Robert King, M. P.
Earl of Blessington,	Honourable Edward Petre,
Earl of Glengall,	Honourable and Reverend John
Earl of Llandaff,	Pomeroy,
Earl of Darlington, M. P.	Honourable William Ponsonby, M. P.
Earl of Bective, M. P.	Right Hon. Sir George F. Hill,
Lord John Russell, M. P.	Bart. M. P.
Lord William Fitzgerald, M. P.	Right Hon. Sir John Newport, Bart.
Viscount Lismore,	M. P.
Viscount Templetown,	Right Hon. M. Fitzgerald, Knt. of
Viscount Morpeth, M. P.	Kerry, M. P.
Viscount Killeen,	Reverend Sir Francis Lynch Blasse,
Viscount Forbes, M. P.	Bart.
Viscount Duncannon, M. P.	Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M. P.
Viscount Acheson,	Sir Charles Coote, Bart. M. P.
Viscount Bingham, M. P.	Sir Thomas B. Lethbridge, Bart.
Viscount Lismore, M. P.	M. P.
Lord Stourton,	General Sir George Nugent, Bart.
Lord Cliford,	M. P.
Lord Foley,	Sir James C. Anderson, Bart.
Lord Alvauley,	Otway Cave, Esq. M. P.
Lord Dundas,	George Robert Dawson, Esq. M. P.

After which the following Subscriptions were
announced.

	£.	s.		£.	s.
Earl Fitzwilliam	200	0	James Grattan, Esq. M.P.	25	0
Duke of Devonshire	100	0	Ralph Leicester, Esq. M.P.	20	0
Duke of Leinster	100	0	Daniel O'Connell, Esq.		
Marquess of Downshire	100	0	M.P.	10	10
Marquess of Anglesey	100	0	Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.	5	0
Earl Darnley	50	0	Rev. Dr. Wade	2	2
Earl Bective	25	0	Rev. M. Keating	10	0
Earl of Glengall	25	0	Rev. J. Curntney	5	0
Lord Viscount Templetown	50	0	Lieut.-Gen. Thornton	2	2
Lord Viscount Northland	25	0	Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy		
Lord Viscount Killeen	20	0	Evans	5	0
Lord Viscount Forbes, M.P.	10	10	Capt. Herbert, Esq. R.N.	10	0
Lord Clifford	50	0	R. Bourne, Esq. R. N.	5	0
Lord Stourton	50	0	Robert Ogilby, Esq. (co. of		
Lord Stafford	25	0	Derry	50	0
Lord Dundas	25	0	A. G. Wright, Esq.	25	0
Lord Dunsally	25	0	John Wright, Esq.	25	0
Lord William Fitzgerald,			Daniel Neal Lister, Esq. ..	21	0
M.P.	20	0	W. H. Burne, Esq.	15	15
Lord Arthur Hill, M.P.	20	0	Peirce Mahony, Esq.	10	10
Lord Francis Leveson			David Mahony, Esq.	10	10
Gower, M.P.	25	0	W. Henry Curran, Esq.	10	0
The Right Hon. Sir George			James Dwyer, Esq.	10	0
F. Hall, Bart. M.P.	25	0	John Howley, Esq.	10	0
The Hon. G. A. Ellis, M.P.	20	0	Maurice O'Connell, Esq. ..	10	0
The Hon. H. C. Clifford ..	25	0	Henry Robinson, Esq.	10	0
The Hon. William Pon-			Richard Sheil, Esq.	10	0
sonby, M.P.	20	0	Edward Sterling, Esq.	10	0
The Hon. Geo. Dawson			Stephen Woulfe, Esq.	10	0
Damer	20	0	Thomas Wyse, Esq.	10	0
The Hon. Valentine Jer-			James Corry, Esq.	5	0
ningham	10	10	Patrick Curtis, Esq.	5	0
The Hon. Robert King,			Fred. Solly Flood, Esq.	5	0
M.P.	10	0	John William Falton, Esq.	5	0
The Hon. George Fortescue,			Cornelius Lyne, Esq.	5	0
M.P.	5	0	O'German Mahon, Esq.	5	0
The Right Reverend Dr.			Thomas Moore, Esq.	5	0
Weld	10	0	Henry Robinson, Jun. Esq.	5	0
Sir Charles Coote, Bart.			Bleaden, Alexander and		
M.P.	25	0	Co. of the London	5	5
Sir Thos. B. Lethbridge,			Tavern		
Bart. M.P.	21	0	Sen. to Clint, Esq.	1	1
Judge Day	25	0	W. Finnetley, Esq.	1	1
Geo. R. Dawson, Esq. M.P.	25	0	William Talbot, of Ennis ..	1	0
Thomas Lloyd, Esq. M.P.	25	0			
Henry Villiers Stuart, Esq.					
M.P.	25	0			

gratitude and devotion to your royal person, and of hailing your Majesty as the common father of your people.

That your Majesty may long, very long, continue to witness the benefits of which you are yourself the author, and to enjoy in your own royal person that happiness which you have conferred on your people, is the earnest wish and prayer of us, your dutiful and loyal subjects.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,
Chairman.

(I.)

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street,
29th May, 1829.

My Lord Duke,

By order of the committee appointed at a public meeting held on the 6th inst. at the London Tavern, to carry into effect the resolutions there agreed to, and in pursuance of the 16th resolution passed at that meeting, I have the honour to transmit for your Grace's information the enclosed copy of the proceedings of the noblemen and gentlemen there assembled.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your very humble Servant,

PEIRCE MAHONY.

To His Grace the Duke of Wellington,
First Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c.

I am highly flattered by the honour conferred upon me especially, and my colleagues, his Majesty's servants, by the noblemen and gentlemen there assembled, and I beg you to accept my thanks for conveying to me a copy of their proceedings upon that occasion.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

WELLINGTON.

Peirce Mahony, Esq.

(IV.)

Whitehall, June 2nd, 1829.

Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing the printed copy of an Address to his Majesty, which was unanimously adopted by a public meeting held at the City of London Tavern on the 5th of May, of which meeting the Earl Fitzwilliam was chairman, and requesting to be informed, "for the instruction of his Lordship," in what manner it may be his Majesty's pleasure to receive such Address.

If, as it is probable that a levee will not be held by his Majesty at a very early period, you will transmit the Address mentioned in your letter to this office, I will not fail to lay it before his Majesty without delay.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

ROBERT PEEL.

Peirce Mahony, Esq.

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street.

No. XXXI.

MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES ON THE
CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL.*House of Lords.—Division on the Second Reading,
April 4, 1829.*Those marked thus * had heretofore opposed the claims either in the
House of Lords or House of Commons.

CONTENT.—PRESENT.

* Duke of Clarence	Clarendon	* Strange (Duke of Athol)
Duke of Sussex	Carnarvon	Somers
Duke of Gloucester	Caledon	* Stradbroke
* Lord Chancellor	* Chichester	Thanet
* Lord President	Cawdor	Tankerville
Lord Privy Seal	Denbigh	Vane (Marquis of Lon-
DUKES.	* Doncaster (Duke of	donderry)
Brandon (Hamilton)	Buccleugh)	* Westmoreland
* Beaufort	* Dartmouth	Wicklow
Devonshire	De la Warr	VISCOUNTS.
* Leeds	Dudley	* Beresford
* Manchester	Essex	Duncan
* Rutland	Elgin	Gordon (Earl of Aber-
Somerset	Ferrers	deen)
* St. Alban's	Fitzwilliam	Granville
* Wellington	Grosvenor	Goderich
MARQUESSSES.	Gosford	Hood
Anglesey	Grey	Leinster (Duke of)
* Bath	Hardwicke	Maynard
Bristol	Hillsborough (Marquis	Melville
Bute	of Downshire)	St. Vincent
Camden	Harrowby	Torrington
Conyngham	Ilchester	BISHOPS.
Hastings	Jersey	Chester
Lansdown	* Liverpool	* Derry
Winchester	Limerick	Kildare
BARONS.	Minto	* Llandaff
Albemarle	Morley	* Lichfield and Coventry
Amherst	Oxford	* Oxford
Blessington	* Powis	Rochester
Chesterfield	Radnor	* St. David's
Carlisle	Roseberry	* Winchester
Cowper	Roslyn	

NOT CONTENT.—PRESENT.

Duke of Cumberland	Longford	Ely
ARCHBISHOPS.	Lonsdale	Exeter
Canterbury	Malinesbury	Gloucester
York	Mansfield	Lincoln
Armagh	Mayo	London
DUKES.	Morton	Meath
Dorset	Mountcashel	Salisbury
Newcastle	Norwich (Duke of Gor-	St. Asaph
Richmond	don)	LORDS.
MARQUESSSES.	O'Neill	Arden
Aylesbury	Onslow	Bexley
Cholmondeley	Plymouth	Boston
Exeter	Poulett	Colville
Salisbury	Romney	Farnborough
Thomond	Shaftesbury	Farnham
EARLS.	Stamford	Grantley
Abingdon	Talbot	Hay (Earl of Kianoull)
Ailesford	Verulam	Kenyon
Beauchamp	Winchelsea	Manners
Bradford	VISCOUNTS.	Middleton
Brownlow	Lake	Redesdale
Clancarty	Lorton	Rivers
Digby	Sidmouth	Rodney
Eldon	BISHOPS.	Rolle
Enniskillen	Bath and Wells	Sheffield (Earl)
Falmouth	Bristol	Sinclair
Guildford	Carlisle	Skelmersdale
Harewood	Chichester	Tenterden
Howe	Durham	Walsingham

PROXIES.

EARLS.	BISHOPS.	Dynevor
Carnick	Hereford	Faversham
Cardigan	Peterborough	Fisherwick (M. of Done-
Charleville	Worcester	gal)
Macclesfield	LORDS.	Gambier
Manvers	Bagot	Gray
Mount Edgercombe	Bayning	Loftus (M. of Ely)
Nelson	Churchill	Le Despencer
Rochfort	Clanbrant (Earl of Ro-	St. Helen's
Scarborough	den)	Stowell
VISCOUNTS.	Colchester	Wallace
Exmouth	Dalhousie (Earl)	Willoughby de Broke
	Delamore	Wodehouse
	De Chifford	

THE FOLLOWING PEERS VOTED ON THE THIRD READING,
AND NOT ON THE SECOND.

In the Majority.—(*Present*) Duke of Grafton, Lords Ducie, Gage, Glenlyon, Ranfurly (Northland.)—(*Præxies*) Earls Cornwallis, Home, Lord Howard of Effingham.—(*Paired off*) Duke of Manchester, Norwich (Duke of Gordon).

Minority.—(*Present*) Viscount Gort, Lord Ribblesdale.—(*Præxy*) Lord Dynevor.

Twelve peers who voted in the majority on the second reading did not vote on the passing of the bill, and six peers who voted in the minority on the second reading did not vote on the third.

PEERS WHO DID NOT VOTE, EXCLUSIVE OF THE
CATHOLIC PEERS.

MARQUESSSES.		Cowley
Abercorn (minor)		De la Zouch
Townshend (in France)		Dorchester (minor)
EARLS.		Forbes
Abergavenny		De Tabley (minor)
Beverley		Glenlyon
Berkeley (will not take his seat)		Gage (too late)
Coventry		Gardner (minor)
Cornwallis		Harris
Cadogan		Heytesbury
Cathcart		Home (Earl of)
Craven (minor)		Moore (Marquis of Drogheda), a lunatic
Egremont		Monson (minor)
Harborough		Northwick (too late)
Huntingdon (minor)		Penshurst (Viscount)
Lindsey (minor)		Ponsonby (of Imokilly)
Pomfret		Prudhoe
Portsmouth (lunatic)		Ribblesdale
Pembroke		Scarsdale
Sandwich (minor)		Strangford (in Brazil)
Stanhope		Stuart (Earl of Moray)
VISCOUNTS.		Tyrone (Marquis of Waterford), a minor
Combermere (in India)		Tharlow
Courtenay (abroad)		Vernon
Sidney		Wigan (Earl of Balcarras)
BARONS.		BISHOP.
Audley		Banger (Magendie)
Ardrossan (Earl of Eglington, in Scotland), a minor		IRISH PEERS.
Bolton		Bandon, Earl of (not taken his seat)
Brodrick		Headfort, Marquis of
Carysfort, Earl of (lunatic)		

PROTESTS.—The Duke of Newcastle entered his protest against the second reading of the Catholic Relief bill—1st, as tending to establish Popery; 2nd, as a violation of the constitution of 1688; 3rd, because the admission of Papists to parliament was a violation of the exclusion act of 1677; 4th, because to break in upon laws considered permanent, was dangerous to our religion, laws, and liberties; 5th, because a proneness to depart from old institutions gave just cause of apprehension for the present and future. Lord Kenyon subscribed the protest for the third and fourth reasons; and Lords Mansfield, Howe, Romney, Malmesbury, Brownlow, O'Neill, and Bradford, protested generally against the second reading. Lords Walsingham and Kenyon also protested against the second reading of the bill, as being destitute of securities. Lord Farnham entered his protest against the bill after it had passed into a law.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—DIVISION ON THE THIRD READING, March 30, 1829.

Those who in 1827 voted against concession, and whose names now appear in the majority on the third reading, are marked (o). The places not otherwise distinguished are boroughs; (co.) signifies county, and (c.) city members.

MAJORITY.

Abercromby, J. Calne	Bective, Earl of, Meath, co.
Acland, Sir I. Devonshire	Benett, J. Wiltshire
Alexander, J. Barnstaple	Bentinck, Lord G. King's Lynn
Althorp, Lord, Northamptonshire	(o) Beresford, Sir J. Northallerton
Anson, Sir G. Litchfield, c.	(o) Beresford, Lieut. col. Berwick, c.
Anson, Hon. G. Yarmouth	Bernard, T. King's co.
Apsey, Lord, Cirencester	Bingham, L. Mayo, co.
Arbuthnot, Rt. Hon. C. St. Ives	Hunt, J. Nottingham, c.
(o) Arbuthnot, Hon. Col. Kincardineshire	Blake, Sir F. Berwick-on-Tweed
Archdeacon, A. Dunwich	Boyle, Hon. J. Cork, co.
(o) Ashley, Lord, Woodstock	Bourne, Right Hon. L. Ashburton
Baillie, Col. Hedon	Brecknock, Earl of, Bath, c.
Balfour, J. Anstruther	(o) Brogden, J. Launceston
Barclay, D. Penryn	Brougham, J. Truro
Barrow, A. Calington	Browne, J. Mayo
Barrow, W. B. Thetford	Brownlow, C. Armagh, co.
Barrow, F. Portsmouth	Bruen, H. Carlaw, co.
Beaumont, T. W. Stafford	Bullet, C. West Looe
	Burdett, Sir F. Westminster, c.

Hill, Lord A. Down, co.
 (o) Hill, Rt. Hon. Sir G. Derry, c.
 Hobhouse, J. C. Westminster, c.
 (o) Hodgson, F. Barnstaple
 Horton, R. W. Newcastle-under-
 Line
 Howard, H. Shoreham
 Hughes, W. L. Wallingford
 (o) Haise, J. St. Ives
 Hume, J. Aberdeen, &c.
 Hurst, R. Horsham
 Huskisson, Right Hon. W. Liver-
 pool, c.
 Hutchinson, J. H. Tipperary, co.
 Hutchinson, J. Cork, c.
 Howard, Hon. G. Castle Rising
 Ingulby, Sir R. Lincolnshire
 Innes, Sir H. Dingwall, &c.
 Jephson, C. D. Mallow
 Jermy, Earl, Orford
 Julliffe, Col. Petersfield
 (o) Keckewich, S. Exeter, c.
 Kennedy, F. Ayr, &c.
 King, H. n. R. Roscommon
 Knight, R. Wallingford
 Knox, Hon. T. Dungannon
 Labouchere, H. St. Michael's
 Lamb, Hon. G. Dungarvon
 Lambert, J. S. Galway, co.
 (o) Langston, J. Oxford, c.
 Lascelles, Hon. W. East Loos
 Latouche, R. Kildare, co.
 Lawley, F. Warwickshire
 Lennard, T. B. Maldon
 Leicester, R. Shaftesbury
 Lewis, Rt. Hon. F. F. Ennis
 Lester, B. Poole
 Liddell, Hon. H. Northumberland-
 shire
 Lindsay, Hon. H. Perth, &c.
 Littleton, E. Staffordshire
 Lloyd, Sir E. Flint
 Lloyd, T. Limerick, co.
 Lockhart, J. Oxford, c.
 Loch, J. St. Germain's
 Lundy, J. Nottinghamshire
 Lushington, Dr. Tregony
 Maberly, J. Abingdon
 Maberly, Lt.-Col. Northampton
 Mackintosh, Sir J. Knaresboro'
 Mackenzie, Sir J. Ross-shire
 Maitland, Vise. Appleby
 Maitland, Hon. Capt. Berwicksh.
 Marjoribanks, S. Hythe

Marshall, J. Yorkshire
 Marshall, W. Petersfield
 (o) Martin, Sir T. B. Plymouth
 Martin, J. Tewkesbury
 Maule, Hon. W. Forfarshire
 Maxwell, J. Downpatrick
 Milbank, M. Camelford
 Mildmay, P. Winchester
 Milton, Vise. Yorkshire
 Monk, J. Reading
 Morrison, J. Bath, co.
 Morland, Sir S. St. Mawes
 Morpeth, Vise. Morpeth
 Mostyn, Sir F. Flint
 Mountchadlen, Lord Donegal, co.
 Murray, Sir G. Perthshire
 (o) Northcote, H. Heytesbury
 Nugent, Lord, Aylesbury
 Nugent, Sir G. Buckingham, u.
 North, J. Dublin University
 O'Brien, W. S. Ennis
 O'Brien, L. Clise, co.
 Orl, W. Morpeth
 Owen, Sir J. Pembrokeshire
 Oxmantown, Lord King's County
 (o) Palmer, C. F. Reading
 (o) Palmer, R. Berkshire
 Palmerston, Vise. Cambridge Univ.
 Parnell, Sir H. Queen's County
 (o) Peel Rt. Hon. R. Westbury
 (o) Peel, W. Y. Tamworth
 Peel, L. Cockermonth
 Pendarvis, E. Cornwall, co.
 Phillips, G. Steyning
 Phillips, G. Weston Bassett
 Phillimore, Dr. Yarmouth (I. W.)
 Phipps, Hon. G. Scarborough
 Perceval, E. Newport, Hants
 Ponsonby, Hon. F. Higham Ferrers
 Ponsonby, Hon. G. Youghall
 Ponsonby, Hon. W. Poole
 Power, R. Waterford, co.
 Powlett, Lord W. Dorham, c.
 Poynts, W. Chichester
 (o) Prendergast, M. Onitou
 Price, R. New Radnor
 Pringle, Sir W. Liskeard
 Prittie, Hon. F. Tipperary, co.
 Proby, Hon. G. Wexlow, co.
 Protheroe, E. Evesham
 Pryse, P. Cardigan
 Rae, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Harwich
 (o) Raine, J. Newport (Cornwall)
 Ramsbottom, J. Windor

MINORITY.

Antrobus, G. Plympton	Encombe, Viscount, Truro
Archdall, Gen. Fermanagh, co.	Estcourt, T. Oxford University
Arkwright, R. Eye	Estcourt, T. H. Marlborough
Ashurst, W. Oxfordshire	Farquhar, J. Portarlington
Astley, Sir J. D. Wiltshire	Fellowes, H. Huntingdonshire
Baker, E. Wilton	Fetherston, Sir G. Longford, co.
Bankee, H. Dorchester	Foley, E. Ludgershall
Bankee, W. Marlborough	Forrester, Hon. C. Wenlock
Bankee, G. Corfe Castle	Fyler, T. B. Coventry, c.
Bastard, E. Devonshire	Gascoyne, General, Liverpool
Batley, C. Beverley	Gordon, J. Weymouth
Beckett, Sir J. Haslemere	Grant, Sir A. Lostwithiel
Belfast, Earl of, Belfast, c.	Greene, T. Lancaster
Bell, M. Northumberland	Gye, F. Chippenham
Blandford, Marquess, Woodstock	Hastings, Sir C. Leicester
Borrodale, R. Newcastle-under-	Heathcote, Sir W. Hampshire
Line	Holdsworth, A. H. Clifton, &c.
Bradshaw, Capt. Brackley	Hudson, J. A. Wigan
Bright, H. Bristol, c.	Hotham, Lord, Leominster
Brydges, Sir J. Kent, co.	Ingha, Sir R. Oxford University
Buck, L. W. Exeter	Keck, G. A. Leicestershire
Burrell, Sir C. Shoreham	Kemp, T. Lewes
Buxton, J. Bedwin	Kerrison, Sir E. Eye
Capel, J. Queenborough	King, Sir J. D. Wycombe
Cawthorne, J. Lancaster	King, Hon. H. Sligo, co.
Cecil, Lord T. Stamford	Knaitchbull, Sir E. Kent
Chichester, Sir A. Millborne Port	Legge, Hon. A. Banbury
Cole, Hon. A. Enniskillen	Lott, H. B. Honiton
Cooper, R. B. Gloucester, c.	Lushington, Colonel, Carlisle
Cooper, E. S. Dartmouth	Lowther, Viscount, Westmoreland
Corry, Viscount, Fermanagh, co.	Lowther, Hon. Colonel, Westmore-
Corry, Hon. H. Tyrone, co.	land
Cotterell, Sir J. Herefordshire	Lowther, J. H. Wigton, &c.
Curtis, E. J. Sussex	Lucy, G. Fowey
Cust, Hon. Capt. Clitheroe	Luttrell, J. Minehead
Cust, Hon. E. Lostwithiel	Lygon, Hon. Colonel, Worcester-
Davenport, E. Shaftesbury	shire
Davis, R. H. Bristol, c.	Mackinnon, C. Ipswich
Dawkins, Col. Boroughbridge	Malcolm, N. Boston
Dick, Q. Orford	Mandeville, Lord, Huntingdonshire
Dick, H. G. Maldon	Manners, Lord R. Leicestershire
Dickinson, W. Somersetshire	Macleod, J. N. Sudbury
Dotun, A. Southampton	Maxwell, H. Cavan, co.
Downie, R. Stirling, &c.	Meynell, Captain, Lisburn
Drake, T. Amersham	Morgan, Sir C. Monmouthshire
Drake, W. Amersham	Munday, G. Boroughbridge
Domville, Sir C. Oakhampton	Munday, F. Derbyshire
Dugdale, D. Warwickshire	Miles, P. J. Corfe Castle
Dowdeswell, J. Tewkesbury	O'Neil, Hon. General, Antrim
Dundas, R. A. Ipswich	O'Neill, A. J. Hull
Egerton, W. Chester, c.	Palk, Sir L. Ashburton

XL.

A Tabular Digest of all the Proceedings that have taken place in Parliament on the subject of the General Laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, from the period of the first Act passed in 1778 to the present time; concluding with a View of the Progress of the Relief Bill through both Houses of the Legislature.

DATE.	OBSERVATIONS.	RESULT.
1778	Irish Act.—18th Geo. III. c. 60, repealed so much of the 11th and 12th Wm. III. c. 4, as affected the inheritance or purchase of property by Roman Catholics; as also the clauses authorising the prosecution of priests and Jesuits, and the imprisonment for life of Papists keeping schools. [In 1779, exactly half a century from the final success of the Catholic Question, Mr. Fox brought the subject forward in the English House of Commons, and it was negatived by a large majority.]	
1791	31st Geo. III. c. 32, prescribed a new declaration and oath in lieu of the oath of supremacy contained in the 1st Wm. and Mary, c. 1, c. 8, and 1st Geo. I. s. 2, c. 13, and for refusing to take which oath of supremacy persons had been subject to certain penalties. The same act (31st Geo. III.) also tolerated, under certain regulations, the religious worship of Roman Catholics, and their schools for education. Upon taking the oath prescribed in the new act, Papists were exempted from the penalties of the 1st	

APPENDIX.

CCCLXIX

DATE.	OBSERVATIONS.	RESULT.	
		LORDS.	COMMONS.
		<i>Ay. No.</i>	<i>Ay. No.</i>
	Lord Grenville's administration broken up, and that of Mr. Perceval formed.		
1808 May 25.—	Mr. Grattan : motion for committee	138—	281
May 27.—	Lord Donoughmore : ditto	74—	161
	[Maynooth College endowed this year.]		
1810 May 13.—	Mr. Grattan : motion for committee	101—	213
June 8.—	Lord Donoughmore : ditto	68—	154
1812 April 21.—	Ditto : to consider the claims	102—	174
April 23.—	Mr. Grattan : similar motion	215—	300
	[New Parliament.]		
June 22.—	Mr. Canning : to consider next session	106—	235
July 1.—	Marquess Wellesley : ditto	126—	120
1813 Feb. 25.—	Mr. Grattan : resolution for committee. After four days' debate, the house divided	204—	224
May 11.—	Sir J. C. Hippisley moved for a committee : opposed, as hostile to the bill then in progress. Division on the motion	187—	225
	Division on Dr. Dugenan's motion, that the bill be read a third time that day 2 months	203—	245
May 24.—	In committee on the bill, the Speaker (having left the chair) moved that the clause allowing Catholics to sit in parliament be omitted	251—	247
	[Bill then given up by Mr. Ponsonby.]		
1815 May 21.—	Sir H. Parnell : motion for committee	147—	228
1816 May 21.—	Mr. Grattan : ditto	141—	172
1817 May 9.—	Ditto	221—	245
	[In this session a bill was introduced by the Liverpool administration and passed, opening the army and navy to the English Catholics. It did not <i>dispense</i> with the oaths of allegiance or supre-		

DATE.	OBSERVATIONS.	RESULT.	
		LOKDS.	COMMONS.
		Ag. No.	Ag. No.
1828 May 8.—Ditto (three days' debate) .. ..		..	272—260
May 16.—Conference with Lords agreed to.			
May 19.—Lords appointed to confer, on motion of Duke of Wellington.			
June 9.—Marquess of Lansdowne's motion on Commons' resolution			187—182
	[A bill was introduced this session by Mr. G. Banks, and passed, relieving English Catholics from the double assessment to the land tax, to which they had before been subject, on their not taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as first enjoined in the statutes against recusancy.]		
1829 Feb. 5.—Recommendation from the throne at the opening of the session, that parliament should "take into deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; and consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of the establishments in church and state; with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of the realm, and of the churches committed to their charge."			
March 5.—A bill suppressing the Irish Catholic Association, recommended in the speech, having passed both houses unanimously, and received the royal assent this day by commission, Mr. Peel, secretary for the home department, brought forward a motion for a committee on the laws affect-			

DATE.	OBSERVATIONS.	RESULT.	
		LORDS.	COMMONS.
		<i>Ay. No.</i>	<i>Ay. No.</i>
	pression of the Jesuits and other monastic orders (religious establishments of females excepted), and an act for raising the freehold franchise in Ireland from 40s. to 10l.		
March 17.	—Division on second reading of Catholic Relief bill		353—173
March 30.	—Third reading — division on amendment of Marquess of Chandos, that it be read a third time that day six months .. .		112—320
April 2.	—Second reading of bill moved in Lords by Duke of Wellington. Debate on Thursday and Friday nights; resumed on Saturday afternoon at one o'clock, and continued until eleven o'clock at night.—Division on Archbishop of Canterbury's motion (seconded by Archbp. of Armagh), that the bill be read a third time that day six months	112—217	
April 10.	—Third reading of Relief bill ..	213—100	
	[The Disfranchisement bill was also read a third time, and passed without a division. The minority in each house of parliament on the second reading was precisely the same—17.]		
April 13.	—Royal assent given by commission to the Catholic Relief bill and Freeholds (Ireland) Regulation bill.		

PETITIONS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1829.

<i>Against the Bill.</i>				<i>For the Bill.</i>			
Previous to the 1st reading ..	957			Previous to the 1st reading ..	357		
Do. .. 2nd do. ..	736			Do. .. 2nd do. ..	404		
Do. .. 3rd do. ..	310			Do. .. 3rd do. ..	170		
Since .. 3rd do. ..	10			Since .. 3rd do. ..	18		
	2013				955		
Against the Bill ..		2013					
In favour of the Bill ..		955					
		—1058					

and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country.

The Catholic religion is liberated from the shackles of oppression. The Protestant religion is liberated from the stain of persecution. The causes which produced Orangeism and Brunswickism are at an end. The Catholics are emancipated, and conscience is free!

To the electors of the county of Clare are these happy results mainly and immediately due. But there remain many political and practical grievances and oppressions. There remain many obstacles to the prosperity of our countrymen—to the diffusion of capital—to the safety of the poor man's cottage—to the security of the rich man's mansion; in fine, to the comfort, prosperity, and happiness, of the Irish people.

Electors of the county of Clare, give me the right and the power to correct these grievances; to remove these obstacles; to abolish oppressive and grinding cesses and county taxes; to repeal the new and most oppressive law respecting sub-letting, and to procure for the sick and poor a well-regulated provision out of the property of absentees and other proprietors—a provision for the poor, to be perfectly free from the insulting, debasing, and demoralising details of the English poor laws

The first grievance we have to redress is the abolition of the forty-shilling freehold franchise. I do not think that, in the annals of legislation, there ever yet was passed a law more unjust and groundless than that which destroyed the forty-shilling franchise in Ireland: it destroyed that franchise for the Catholics at a period

the poor more wretched, and to render the destitute more miserable.

Send me to parliament, and I will there assail, and I trust with success, the Vestry bill; that most unconstitutional law, which enables a few Protestants to tax, to almost any extent they may fancy, the property of the Catholic landholders. Indeed, I ought to add, that the Protestants have in many instances, shown a forbearance from using this act oppressively, which does infinite honour to their good sense and humanity. But in many instances, it has been already grievously enforced; and it is in human nature that it will, unless repealed or amended, produce all its fruits of bitterness.

Send me to parliament, and I will there assail, and I think successfully, the system of grand jury jobbing, and grand jury assessment. I will then be able to prove to those who ought to give redress, that the taxation of the people by the grand juries, is as oppressive in practice as it is unconstitutional in principle; and it enables the rich man to form gravel walks near his demesne at the expense of the poor, and gives to the influential portion of the aristocracy a dominion over the properties of their fellow-subjects.

Send me to parliament, and I will struggle hard to procure a diminution of heavy and illegal exactions, and an equitable distribution of the revenues of the Established church, between the poor on the one hand, and the most meritorious and really laborious portion of the Protestant clergy on the other, by operating to the deprivation of at least part of the enormous wealth of the pampered and overpaid pluralists and dignitaries.

pious men who devote themselves to God in singleness of heart and humility of spirit ; of those invaluable institutions which give not only literary but religious and moral education to the poor ; and I will challenge inquiry and promulgate the truth respecting that most learned body the Jesuits, a body of men who have done more for literature and religion than any other society that ever lived. They have produced more scholars, they have furnished more martyrs, they have preached Christianity to more infidel nations.

I trust I shall be the instrument of erasing from the statute-book that paltry imitation of the worst and still-existing portion of French Jacobinism—a miserable imitation—which pretends to do that which nature and religion forbid to be done—to extinguish monastic orders in Ireland. While it is law, its penalties will be submitted to ; but let me add, as a matter of fact, that its mandate will most assuredly not be obeyed. It was formerly death in Ireland to be a friar, and the Irish earth is still scarcely dry from the blood of martyred friars ; the friars multiplied in the face of death. O for the sagacity of Peel, and the awful wisdom of Wellington, that meditate to suppress monastic orders in Ireland by a pecuniary penalty, and the dread of a foreign mission, under the name of banishment!!!

The law permits men to be profligate, and debauched, and corrupt, and selfish ; it cannot—and I venture to add that if I am in parliament it shall not—long prohibit men from devoting their lives to poverty, to chastity, to obedience, and to the education of the poor.

Send me to parliament, and I will incessantly urge on

parliament. Protestants and Catholics are equally interested in having Ireland and Irish interests faithfully and effectually represented in parliament.

I address Protestants equally with Catholics—I address the landlords equally with the tenants—I address the rich as well as the poor.

If the landlords of Clare wish to preserve their estates from the merciless fangs of the English system of poor laws—if they wish to develop the natural resources of their country—if they wish to bury in oblivion all former feuds and animosities—if they wish to render their properties more valuable, by the diminution of public burdens, the encouragement of domestic manufactures, the advancement of Irish commerce, the increase of Irish agriculture, the amelioration of the social circle, the extension of industry, comfort, and prosperity; if the landlords of Clare desire all these things, they will join in sending me to parliament to work for the benefit of our common country.

If the tenantry desire the repeal of the Sub-letting act and of the Vestry bill—if they desire to have the parish cess lightened, and the grand jury cess abolished—if they desire to see a domestic provision made for the sick and the destitute, and opportunities afforded to the strong and the healthy to earn the wages of industry—if they desire to see Catholic charities established and secured—if they desire to see the Catholic parochial clergy rendered independent and comfortable—if they desire to see the Catholic monastic orders vindicated and protected—if they desire to see the Catholic rights and liberties prevented from being sapped and under-

creates an impossibility to those who will not struggle against it.—There is no impossibility to him who, having no other object under heaven but the good of his country and his kind, is determined, by honest, open, and constitutional means to achieve the restoration of his native land.

Impossible to restore Ireland to that happiness and freedom of which she was so foully deprived!!! Impossible!!! I utterly deny it.—The spirit of improvement is abroad. The causes of political regeneration are multiplied. The landed aristocracy of England, by means of the corn laws, have an undue share of the price of the morsel of bread with which the exhausted artisan feeds his hungry family—whilst that very same aristocracy purchase the articles of their own consumption more cheaply by means of “the free trade” in manufactures. The principle of free trade, let me add, is one which I cherish; but that principle, to be just, should be universal. It should not operate to the disadvantage of the poor man, by making his bread dear, and at the same time operate to the advantage of the rich, by giving him cheap foreign manufacture. It ought not to make food dear, whilst it made silks cheap.

The spirit of improvement is abroad—and the present oligarchical system which produced these mischiefs is rocking to its centre. England is interested equally with Ireland, more interested than Ireland, in the prosperity of Ireland. Ireland consumes at present but a limited portion of British manufactures—suppose ten millions of pounds’ worth per annum (for I have not the documents before me showing the precise amount); but

ignorant that they made themselves enemies by the activity, courage, and success, with which, at a critical moment, in spite of every obstacle, and of every incitement, they preserved the peace of your county. You know how much bloodshed they prevented. The commission of the peace was never in the hands of men who so sedulously and successfully preserved the peace. But it was a crime in the eyes of some of our enemies, too great to be forgiven, that the king's peace was preserved. Now, again I repeat the question—What are your feelings towards the persecutors of O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele? Any man who votes against me at the ensuing election must be a man who joins the enemies of O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele, and thinks that these estimable gentlemen ought to be visited with a paltry attempt to insult them, merely because they preserved the lives of the people, and nobly vindicated at the last election the religion and liberties of the Catholics of Ireland.

It has been said that I am a stranger in Clare. Me a stranger in any part of Ireland! Foolish and absurd. I am identified with the people of Clare in every thing that can identify man to man. All, however, I can claim, is the ratification of the former election. I ask only the sympathy of Clare upon this vacancy. I have a title to that sympathy by the community of interest and of generous feeling and exalted resolves.

Catholic brothers, respected and esteemed Protestant friends, I claim your suffrages on this occasion.

To my Catholic brothers I say, that the protection of the rights of the Catholics in parliament, that the esta-

I conclude as I began. Electors of Clare, I have been illegally injured, and you have been unworthily insulted by that unworthy ministerial dexterity which deprived me of my right to represent you in parliament. I call upon you to wipe away that injury, to blot out that insult, by sending me back to express my sentiments and yours to the men who, in so undignified a manner, injured me and insulted you.

Protestants and Catholics, Friends and Brothers,

I am your devoted Servant,

D. O'CONNELL.

LONDON, May 25, 1829.

THE END.



